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ABRAHAM LINCOLN
AND OTHER ADDRESSES
IN ENGLAND

Joseph H. Choate

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BY

JOSEPH H. CHOATE

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PREFACE

DURING my long residence in London as Ambassador of the United States, it was my good fortune to be brought into close contact with the British people, which gave me a unique opportunity to study their habits and characteristics, and their social and political institutions. My one instruction from President McKinley, when he handed me my letter of credence, was to promote the welfare of both countries by cultivating the most friendly relations between them. To this end I visited many parts of Great Britain, and wherever I went I found this message of good will most cordially reciprocated. I thought that one effective way of carrying out this instruction was to do what I could to make the people better acquainted with the United States, its history, its institutions and its great men, which would show them that there is no radical difference between us, and that under different Constitutional forms we maintain with equal fidelity the same great causes of liberty and justice and human progress.

The addresses which are contained in this vol-

ume are selected from many which were delivered in pursuit of this general object.

The four great Americans whom I selected for illustration in this way, Lincoln, Franklin, Hamilton and Emerson, were certainly no better known to the average Englishman, than the leading public men of Great Britain of corresponding periods are known to the average American, but great interest was manifested in hearing about them.

Lincoln, who had been the subject of much hostility and abuse in his lifetime, was glorified in England as in all other countries after his death as the great martyr and emancipator. But the marvellous story of his life, with its strange vicissitudes and tragical incidents, was not at all familiar. It was hardly possible under the English system of government that such a character and career could be developed, but none the less were they eager to hear everything about a man whose record seemed little short of miraculous. When they realized the fact that the emancipation of four million slaves, as the only means of preserving the existence of the nation, was all his work, their enthusiasm for him knew no bounds, and as English history affords no parallel example of a man rising by his own efforts, and the events of his time, from such humble beginnings to such a pinnacle of lasting

fame, they were proud to claim him as one of the great treasures of the English-speaking race.

I found no little prejudice still existing against Franklin, a survival, I suppose, of the bitterness of our revolutionary struggle, in which he came into much closer contact with England both before and during the war than any other American; — and then the transmission and publication of the Hutchinson letters had never been quite forgiven or forgotten. But as I believed that their transmission was, as he declared himself, one of the best actions of his life, and their publication was in violation of his injunctions, I was glad to have an opportunity in speaking of him at Birmingham to develope at length his wonderful career, as first, a most stalwart champion of the British Empire, and afterwards, when peace and union were no longer possible, as one of the greatest of American citizens.

Hamilton was comparatively unknown, except to lawyers, scholars and great readers. There had been a recent rehabilitation of his fame in a fascinating work of fiction, which had been widely read in England as in America, but the real facts of the great work of that surpassing genius, in upholding the arms of Washington in the war, in bringing about the Convention of 1787 which made the Federal Constitution, in securing its adoption

by the people, and in organizing our government under it were not widely known, and it was a great pleasure to tell this wonderful story to the students of the University of Edinburgh.

Emerson is a general favorite among all reading and thinking people in Great Britain, and his reputation as poet and philosopher is well recognized and established, but I do not think that the extent and power of his influence on public questions in great crises was fully appreciated, and it was a source of pride and satisfaction to set forth some of his most thrilling utterances in the days of the slavery agitation and the war, when in clarion tones he appealed to the conscience of his countrymen.

No subject relating to America interested English and Scotch people more than the Supreme Court of the United States and its place in the Constitution. Even learned lawyers and jurists found it difficult to understand how two distinct and independent governments could coexist over the same people and the same territory without clashing, until the power of the Supreme Court to adjust all differences between State and Federal jurisdictions was taken into consideration; and nowhere is greater credit given to the wisdom of the framers of the Federal Constitution with all its safeguards for property and liberty, than

by Englishmen, who nevertheless recognize the omnipotence of Parliament as the cardinal principle of their own political system.

Education in America is a subject not only of great curiosity but of profound interest where the general subject of education is being constantly agitated, and in respect to which each country has much to learn from others. The Board of Education in Great Britain had recently published two large volumes devoted to its condition and progress in America — a very great international compliment — and when the opportunity came to me to speak at the opening of the Summer Schools at Oxford on the same theme I gladly availed myself of it.

It was also a satisfaction to demonstrate to the Sir Walter Scott Club of Edinburgh the love and respect in which that great writer is held throughout America, and what an elevating and educational influence he has exercised there.

The Centenary of the British and Foreign Bible Society was an important international event in which it was my privilege to participate both as Ambassador and as Special Delegate of the American Bible Society.

The address at Lincoln's Inn on the occasion of the dinner tendered to me by the Bench and Bar of England, and my farewell address at the Man-

sion House at the Lord Mayor's Banquet gave me opportunities, which I gladly embraced, to express, on my own behalf and that of all my countrymen, gratitude for the generous hospitality and cordial welcome which had been always extended to me as their representative.

As a loyal son of Harvard it was an immense gratification to leave behind me Mr. LaFarge's window in Southwark Cathedral as a memorial of John Harvard, and to enjoy the assistance in the ceremony of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Southwark and of Mr. Bryce, who was so soon to come to us as His Majesty's brilliant and popular Ambassador.

In the hope that these efforts have done something, however little, in the language of President McKinley, " to promote the welfare of both countries " I dedicate the volume to my friends on both sides of the water.

Stockbridge, September, 1910.

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Address delivered before the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution, November 13th, 1900.

WHEN you asked me to deliver the Inaugural Address on this occasion, I recognized that I owed this compliment to the fact that I was the official representative of America — and in selecting a subject I ventured to think that I might interest you for an hour in a brief study in popular Government, as illustrated by the life of the most American of all Americans. I therefore offer no apology for asking your attention to Abraham Lincoln — to his unique character and the part he bore in two important achievements of modern history: the preservation of the integrity of the American Union and the Emancipation of the colored race.

During his brief term of power, he was probably the object of more abuse, vilification and ridicule than any other man in the world; but when he fell by the hand of an assassin, at the very moment of his stupendous victory, all the nations of the earth vied with one another in paying homage to his character; and the thirty-five years that have since elapsed have established his place in history as one of the great benefactors not of his own country alone, but of the human race.

One of many noble utterances upon the occasion of his death was that in which "Punch" made its magnanimous recantation of the spirit with which it had pursued him: —

"Beside this corpse that bears for winding sheet
The stars and stripes he lived to rear anew,
Between the mourners at his head and feet
Say, scurrile jester, is there room for you?

. . . . . .

Yes, he had lived to shame me from my sneer
To lame my pencil, and confute my pen —
To make me own this hind — of princes peer,
This rail-splitter — a true born king of men."

Fiction can furnish no match for the romance of his life, and biography will be searched in vain for such startling vicissitudes of fortune, so great power and glory won out of such humble beginnings and adverse circumstances.

Doubtless, you are all familiar with the salient points of his extraordinary career. In the zenith of his fame he was the wise, patient, courageous, successful ruler of men; exercising more power than any monarch of his time, not for himself, but for the good of the people who had placed it in his hands; commander-in-chief of a vast military power, which waged with ultimate success the greatest war of the century; the triumphant champion of popular Government, the deliverer of four millions of his fellow men from bondage; honored by mankind as Statesman, President and Liberator.

Let us glance now at the first half of the brief life, of which this was the glorious and happy consummation. Nothing could be more squalid and miserable than the home in which Abraham Lincoln was born — a one-roomed cabin without floor or window in what was then the wilderness of Kentucky, in the heart of that frontier life which swiftly moved westward from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi, always in advance of schools and churches, of books and money, of railroads and newspapers, of all things which are generally regarded as the comforts and even necessaries of life. His father, ignorant, needy and thriftless, content if he could keep soul and body together for himself and his family, was ever seeking, without success, to better his unhappy condition by moving on from one such scene of dreary desolation to another. The rude society which surrounded them was not much better. The struggle for existence was hard, and absorbed all their energies. They were fighting the forest, the wild beast and the retreating savage. From the time when he could barely handle tools until he attained his majority, Lincoln's life was that of a simple farm laborer, poorly clad, housed and fed, at work either on his father's wretched farm, or hired out to neighboring farmers. But in spite, or perhaps by means, of this rude environment, he grew to be a stalwart giant, reaching six feet four at nineteen, and fabulous stories are told of his feats of strength. With the growth of this mighty frame began that

strange education which in his ripening years was to qualify him for the great destiny that awaited him, and the development of those mental faculties and moral endowments, which, by the time he reached middle life, were to make him the sagacious, patient and triumphant leader of a great nation in the crisis of its fate. His whole schooling, obtained during such odd times as could be spared from grinding labor, did not amount in all to as much as one year, and the quality of the teaching was of the lowest possible grade, including only the elements of reading, writing and ciphering. But out of these simple elements, when rightly used by the right man, education is achieved; and Lincoln knew how to use them. As so often happens, he seemed to take warning from his father's unfortunate example. Untiring industry, an insatiable thirst for knowledge, and an ever-growing desire to rise above his surroundings, were early manifestations of his character.

Books were almost unknown in that community, but the Bible was in every house, and somehow or other Pilgrim's Progress, Æsop's Fables, a History of the United States, and a Life of Washington fell into his hands. He trudged on foot many miles through the wilderness to borrow an English Grammar, and is said to have devoured greedily the contents of the Statutes of Indiana that fell in his way. These few volumes he read and re-read — and his power of assimilation was great. To be shut in with a few books and

to master them thoroughly sometimes does more for the development of mind and character, than freedom to range at large, in a cursory and indiscriminate way, through wide domains of literature. This youth's mind, at any rate, was thoroughly saturated with Biblical knowledge and Biblical language, which, in after life, he used with great readiness and effect. But it was the constant use of the little knowledge which he had that developed and exercised his mental powers. After the hard day's work was done, while others slept, he toiled on, always reading or writing. From an early age he did his own thinking and made up his own mind — invaluable traits in the future President. Paper was such a scarce commodity that, by the evening firelight, he would write and cipher on the back of a wooden shovel, and then shave it off to make room for more. By-and-by, as he approached manhood, he began speaking in the rude gatherings of the neighborhood, and so laid the foundation of that art of persuading his fellow men, which was one rich result of his education, and one great secret of his subsequent success.

Accustomed as we are in these days of steam and telegraphs to have every intelligent boy survey the whole world each morning before breakfast, and inform himself as to what is going on in every nation, it is hardly possible to conceive how benighted and isolated was the condition of the community at Pigeon Creek in Indiana, of which the family of Lincoln's father formed a

part, or how eagerly an ambitious and high-spirited boy, such as he, must have yearned to escape. The first glimpse that he ever got of any world beyond the narrow confines of his home was in 1828, at the age of nineteen, when a neighbor employed him to accompany his son down the river to New Orleans to dispose of a flat boat of produce — a commission which he discharged with great success.

Shortly after his return from this first excursion into the outer world, his father, tired of failure in Indiana, packed his family and all his worldly goods into a single wagon drawn by two yoke of oxen, and after a fourteen days' tramp through the wilderness, pitched his camp once more in Illinois. Here Abraham, having come of age and being now his own master, rendered the last service of his minority by ploughing the fifteen acre lot and splitting from the tall walnut trees of the primeval forest enough rails to surround the little clearing with a fence. Such was the meagre outfit of this coming leader of men, at the age when the future British Prime Minister or Statesman emerges from the University as a double first or senior wrangler, with every advantage that high training and broad culture and association with the wisest and the best of men and women can give, and enters upon some form of public service on the road to usefulness and honor, the University course being only the first stage of the public training. So Lincoln, at twenty-one, had just begun his preparation for

the public life to which he soon began to aspire. For some years yet he must continue to earn his daily bread by the sweat of his brow, having absolutely no means, no home, no friend to consult. More farm work as a hired hand, a clerkship in a village store, the running of a mill, another trip to New Orleans on a flat boat of his own contriving, a pilot's berth on the river: these were the means by which he subsisted until, in the summer of 1832, when he was twenty-three years of age, an event occurred which gave him public recognition.

The Black Hawk War broke out, and the Governor of Illinois calling for volunteers to repel the band of savages whose leader bore that name, Lincoln enlisted and was elected captain by his comrades, among whom he had already established his supremacy by signal feats of strength and more than one successful single combat. During the brief hostilities he was engaged in no battle and won no military glory, but his local leadership was established. The same year he offered himself as a candidate for the Legislature of Illinois, but failed at the polls. Yet his vast popularity with those who knew him was manifest. The District consisted of several counties, but the unanimous vote of the people of his own county was for Lincoln. Another unsuccessful attempt at store-keeping was followed by better luck at surveying, until his horse and instruments were levied upon under execution for the debts of his business adventure.

I have been thus detailed in sketching his early years because upon these strange foundations the structure of his great fame and service was built. In the place of a school and university training fortune substituted these trials, hardships and struggles as a preparation for the great work which he had to do. It turned out to be exactly what the emergency required. Ten years instead at the public school and the University certainly never could have fitted this man for the unique work which was to be thrown upon him. Some other Moses would have had to lead us to our Jordan, to the sight of our promised land of liberty.

At the age of twenty-five he became a member of the Legislature of Illinois, and so continued for eight years, and, in the meantime, qualified himself by reading such law books as he could borrow at random — for he was too poor to buy any — to be called to the Bar. For his second quarter of a century — during which a single term in Congress introduced him into the arena of national questions — he gave himself up to law and politics. In spite of his soaring ambition, his two years in Congress gave him no premonition of the great destiny that awaited him, and at its close, in 1849, we find him an unsuccessful applicant to the President for appointment as Commissioner of the General Land Office — a purely administrative Bureau; a fortunate escape for himself and for his country. Year by year his knowledge and power, his experience and

reputation extended, and his mental faculties seemed to grow by what they fed on. His power of persuasion, which had always been marked, was developed to an extraordinary degree, now that he became engaged in congenial questions and subjects. Little by little he rose to prominence at the Bar, and became the most effective public speaker in the West. Not that he possessed any of the graces of the orator; but his logic was invincible, and his clearness and force of statement impressed upon his hearers the convictions of his honest mind, while his broad sympathies and sparkling and genial humor made him a universal favorite as far and as fast as his acquaintance extended.

These twenty years that elapsed from the time of his establishment as a lawyer and legislator in Springfield, the new capital of Illinois, furnished a fitting theatre for the development and display of his great faculties, and, with his new and enlarged opportunities, he obviously grew in mental stature in this second period of his career, as if to compensate for the absolute lack of advantages under which he had suffered in youth. As his powers enlarged, his reputation extended, for he was always before the people, felt a warm sympathy with all that concerned them, took a zealous part in the discussion of every public question, and made his personal influence ever more widely and deeply felt.

My brethren of the legal profession will naturally ask me, how could this rough backwoodsman,

whose youth had been spent in the forest or on the farm and the flat boat, without culture or training, education or study, by the random reading, on the wing, of a few miscellaneous law books, become a learned and accomplished lawyer? Well, he never did. He never would have earned his salt as a Writer for the Signet, nor have won a place as advocate in the Court of Session, where the technique of the profession has reached its highest perfection, and centuries of learning and precedent are involved in the equipment of a lawyer. Dr. Holmes, when asked by an anxious young mother, "When should the education of a child begin?" replied, "Madam, at least two centuries before it is born!" and so I am sure it is with the Scots lawyer.

But not so in Illinois in 1840. Between 1830 and 1880, its population increased twenty-fold, and when Lincoln began practising law in Springfield in 1837, life in Illinois was very crude and simple, and so were the Courts and the administration of justice. Books and libraries were scarce. But the people loved justice, upheld the law and followed the Courts, and soon found their favorites among the advocates. The fundamental principles of the Common Law, as set forth by Blackstone and Chitty, were not so difficult to acquire; and brains, common sense, force of character, tenacity of purpose, ready wit and power of speech did the rest, and supplied all the deficiencies of learning.

The lawsuits of those days were extremely

simple, and the principles of natural justice were mainly relied on to dispose of them at the Bar and on the Bench, without resort to technical learning. Railroads, corporations absorbing the chief business of the community; combined and inherited wealth, with all the subtle and intricate questions they breed, had not yet come in — and so the professional agents and the equipment which they require were not needed. But there were many highly educated and powerful men at the Bar of Illinois, even in those early days, whom the spirit of enterprise had carried there in search of fame and fortune. It was by constant contact and conflict with these that Lincoln acquired professional strength and skill. Every community and every age creates its own Bar, entirely adequate for its present uses and necessities. So in Illinois, as the population and wealth of the State kept on doubling and quadrupling, its Bar presented a growing abundance of learning and science and technical skill. The early practitioners grew with its growth and mastered the requisite knowledge. Chicago soon grew to be one of the largest and richest and certainly the most intensely active city on the Continent, and if any of my professional friends here had gone there in Lincoln's later years, to try or argue a cause, or transact other business, with any idea that Edinburgh or London had a monopoly of legal learning, science or subtlety, they would certainly have found their mistake.

In those early days in the West, every lawyer,

especially every Court lawyer, was necessarily a politician, constantly engaged in the public discussion of the many questions evolved from the rapid development of town, county, State and Federal affairs. Then and there, in this regard, public discussion supplied the place which the universal activity of the Press has since monopolized, and the public speaker who, by clearness, force, earnestness and wit, could make himself felt on the questions of the day, would rapidly come to the front. In the absence of that immense variety of popular entertainments which now feed the public taste and appetite, the people found their chief amusement in frequenting the Courts and public and political assemblies. In either place, he who impressed, entertained and amused them most was the hero of the hour. They did not discriminate very carefully between the eloquence of the forum and the eloquence of the hustings. Human nature ruled in both alike, and he who was the most effective speaker in a political harangue was often retained as most likely to win in a cause to be tried or argued. And I have no doubt in this way many retainers came to Lincoln. Fees, money in any form, had no charms for him — in his eager pursuit of fame, he could not afford to make money. He was ambitious to distinguish himself by some great service to mankind, and this ambition for fame and real public service left no room for avarice in his composition. However much he earned, he seems to have ended every year hardly richer

than he began it, and yet as the years passed, fees came to him freely. One of £1,000 is recorded — a very large professional fee at that time, even in any part of America, the paradise of lawyers. I lay great stress on Lincoln's career as a lawyer — much more than his biographers do — because in America a state of things exists wholly different from that which prevails in Great Britain. The profession of the law always has been — and is to this day — the principal avenue to public life; and I am sure that his training and experience in the Courts had much to do with the development of those forces of intellect and character which he soon displayed on a broader arena.

It was in political controversy, of course, that he acquired his wide reputation, and made his deep and lasting impression upon the people of what had now become the powerful State of Illinois, and upon the people of the Great West, to whom the political power and control of the United States were already surely and swiftly passing from the older Eastern States. It was this reputation and this impression and the familiar knowledge of his character which had come to them from his local leadership, that happily inspired the people of the West to present him as their candidate, and to press him upon the Republican Convention of 1860, as the fit and necessary leader in the struggle for life which was before the Nation.

That struggle, as you all know, arose out of

the terrible question of Slavery — and I must trust to your general knowledge of the history of that question to make intelligible the attitude and leadership of Lincoln as the champion of the hosts of freedom in the final contest. Negro slavery had been firmly established in the Southern States from an early period of their history. In 1619, the year before the "Mayflower" landed our Pilgrim Fathers upon Plymouth Rock, a Dutch ship had discharged a cargo of African slaves at Jamestown in Virginia. All through the colonial period their importation had continued. A few had found their way into the Northern States, but in none of them in sufficient numbers to constitute danger or to afford a basis for political power. At the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, there is no doubt that the principal members of the Convention not only condemned slavery as a moral, social and political evil — but believed that by the suppression of the slave trade it was in the course of gradual extinction in the South, as it certainly was in the North. Washington, in his will, provided for the emancipation of his own slaves, and said to Jefferson that it "was among his first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in his country might be abolished." Jefferson said, referring to the institution, "I tremble for my country when I think that God is just; that His justice cannot sleep for ever" — and Franklin, Adams, Hamilton and Patrick Henry were all utterly opposed to it. But it was made the subject of a fatal com-

promise in the Federal Constitution, whereby its existence was recognized in the States as a basis of representation, the prohibition of the importation of slaves was postponed for twenty years, and the return of fugitive slaves provided for. But no imminent danger was apprehended from it till, by the invention of the cotton gin in 1792, cotton culture by negro labor became at once and for ever the leading industry of the South, and gave a new impetus to the importation of slaves, so that in 1808, when the constitutional prohibition took effect, their numbers had vastly increased. From that time forward, slavery became the basis of a great political power, and the Southern States, under all circumstances and at every opportunity, carried on a brave and unrelenting struggle for its maintenance and extension.

The conscience of the North was slow to rise against it, though bitter controversies from time to time took place. The Southern leaders threatened disunion if their demands were not complied with. To save the Union, compromise after compromise was made; but each one in the end was broken. The Missouri Compromise, made in 1820 upon the occasion of the admission of Missouri into the Union as a Slave State — whereby, in consideration of such admission, slavery was for ever excluded from the Northwest Territory — was ruthlessly repealed in 1854, by a Congress elected in the interests of the slave power, the intent being to force slavery into that

vast territory which had so long been dedicated to freedom. This challenge at last aroused the slumbering conscience and passion of the North, and led to the formation of the Republican party for the avowed purpose of preventing, by constitutional methods, the further extension of slavery.

In its first campaign in 1856, though it failed to elect its candidates, it received a surprising vote and carried many of the States. No one could any longer doubt that the North had made up its mind that no threats of disunion should deter it from pressing its cherished purpose and performing its long neglected duty. From the outset, Lincoln was one of the most active and effective leaders and speakers of the new party, and the great debates between Lincoln and Douglas in 1858, as the respective champions of the restriction and extension of slavery, attracted the attention of the whole country. Lincoln's powerful arguments carried conviction everywhere. His moral nature was thoroughly aroused — his conscience was stirred to the quick. Unless slavery was wrong, nothing was wrong. Was each man, of whatever color, entitled to the fruits of his own labor, or could one man live in idle luxury by the sweat of another's brow, whose skin was darker? He was an implicit believer in that principle of the Declaration of Independence that all men are vested with certain inalienable rights — the equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. On this doctrine, he staked his case and carried it. We have time only for one or

two sentences in which he struck the keynote of the contest: —

"The real issue in this country is the eternal struggle between these two principles — right and wrong — throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity, and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, 'You work and toil and earn bread and I'll eat it.'"

He foresaw with unerring vision that the conflict was inevitable and irrepressible — that one or the other, the right or the wrong, freedom or slavery, must ultimately prevail, and wholly prevail, throughout the country; and this was the principle that carried the war, once begun, to a finish.

One sentence of his is immortal —

"Under the operation of the policy of compromise, the slavery agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall — but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other — either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the

course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South."

During the entire decade, from 1850 to 1860, the agitation of the slavery question was at the boiling point, and events which have become historical continually indicated the near approach of the overwhelming storm. No sooner had the Compromise Acts of 1850 resulted in a temporary peace, which everybody said must be final and perpetual, than new outbreaks came. The forcible carrying away of fugitive slaves by Federal Troops from Boston agitated that ancient stronghold of freedom to its foundations. The publication of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," which truly exposed the frightful possibilities of the slave system; the reckless attempts by force and fraud to establish it in Kansas against the will of the vast majority of the settlers; the beating of Sumner in the Senate Chamber for words spoken in debate; the Dred Scott decision in the Supreme Court, which made the nation realize that the slave power had at last reached the fountain of Federal justice; and finally the execution of John Brown, for his wild raid into Virginia, to invite the slaves to rally to the standard of freedom which he unfurled: all these events tend to illustrate and confirm Lincoln's contention that the nation could not permanently continue half slave and half free, but must become all one thing or all the other. When John Brown lay under

sentence of death, he declared that now he was sure that slavery must be wiped out in blood; but neither he nor his executioners dreamt that within four years a million soldiers would be marching across the country for its final extirpation, to the music of the war-song of the great conflict: —

"John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,
But his soul is marching on."

And now, at the age of fifty-one, this child of the wilderness, this farm laborer, rail-splitter, flat-boatman — this surveyor, lawyer, orator, statesman and patriot found himself elected by the great party which was pledged to prevent at all hazards the further extension of slavery, as the chief magistrate of the Republic, bound to carry out that purpose, to be the leader and ruler of the nation in its most trying hour.

Those who believe that there is a living Providence that over-rules and conducts the affairs of nations, find in the elevation of this plain man to this extraordinary fortune and to this great duty which he so fitly discharged, a signal vindication of their faith. Perhaps to this Philosophical Institution the judgment of our philosopher Emerson will commend itself as a just estimate of Lincoln's historical place: —

"His occupying the Chair of State was a triumph of the good sense of mankind and of the public conscience. He grew according to the need; his mind mastered the

problem of the day: and as the problem grew, so did his comprehension of it. In the war there was no place for holiday magistrate, nor fair weather sailor. The new pilot was hurried to the helm in a tornado. In four years — four years of battle days — his endurance, his fertility of resource, his magnanimity, were sorely tried, and never found wanting. There, by his courage, his justice, his even temper, his fertile counsel, his humanity, he stood a heroic figure in the centre of a heroic epoch. He is the true history of the American people in his time, the true representative of this continent — father of his country, the pulse of twenty millions throbbing in his heart, the thought of their mind articulated in his tongue."

He was born great, as distinguished from those who achieve greatness or have it thrust upon them, and his inherent capacity, mental, moral, and physical, having been recognized by the educated intelligence of a free people, they happily chose him for their ruler in a day of deadly peril.

It is now forty years since I first saw and heard Abraham Lincoln, but the impression which he left on my mind is ineffaceable. After his great successes in the West he came to New York to make a political address. He appeared in every sense of the word like one of the plain people among whom he loved to be counted. At first sight there was nothing impressive or imposing about him — except that his great stature singled him out from the crowd; his clothes hung awkwardly on his giant frame, his face was of a dark pallor, without the slightest tinge of color;

his seamed and rugged features bore the furrows of hardship and struggle; his deep-set eyes looked sad and anxious; his countenance in repose gave little evidence of that brain power which had raised him from the lowest to the highest station among his countrymen; as he talked to me before the meeting, he seemed ill at ease, with that sort of apprehension which a young man might feel before presenting himself to a new and strange audience, whose critical disposition he dreaded. It was a great audience, including all the noted men — all the learned and cultured — of his party in New York: editors, clergymen, statesmen, lawyers, merchants, critics. They were all very curious to hear him. His fame as a powerful speaker had preceded him, and exaggerated rumor of his wit — the worst forerunner of an orator — had reached the East. When Mr. Bryant presented him, on the high platform of the Cooper Institute, a vast sea of eager upturned faces greeted him, full of intense curiosity to see what this rude child of the people was like. He was equal to the occasion. When he spoke he was transformed; his eye kindled, his voice rang, his face shone and seemed to light up the whole assembly. For an hour and a half he held his audience in the hollow of his hand. His style of speech and manner of delivery were severely simple. What Lowell called "The grand simplicities of the Bible," with which he was so familiar, were reflected in his discourse. With no attempt at ornament or rhetoric, without

parade or pretence, he spoke straight to the point. If any came expecting the turgid eloquence or the ribaldry of the frontier, they must have been startled at the earnest and sincere purity of his utterances. It was marvellous to see how this untutored man, by mere self discipline and the chastening of his own spirit, had outgrown all meretricious arts, and found his own way to the grandeur and strength of absolute simplicity.

He spoke upon the theme which he had mastered so thoroughly. He demonstrated by copious historical proofs and masterly logic, that the Fathers who created the Constitution in order to form a more perfect union, to establish justice, and to secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, intended to empower the Federal Government to exclude slavery from the territories. In the kindliest spirit, he protested against the avowed threat of the Southern States to destroy the Union if, in order to secure freedom in those vast regions, out of which future States were to be carved, a Republican President were elected. He closed with an appeal to his audience, spoken with all the fire of his aroused and kindling conscience, with a full outpouring of his love of justice and liberty, to maintain their political purpose on that lofty and unassailable issue of right and wrong which alone could justify it, and not to be intimidated from their high resolve and sacred duty by any threats of destruction to the Government or of ruin to themselves.

He concluded with this telling sentence, which drove the whole argument home to all our hearts: "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it." That night the great hall, and the next day the whole city, rang with delighted applause and congratulations, and he who had come as a stranger departed with the laurels of a great triumph.

Alas! in five years from that exulting night, I saw him again, for the last time, in the same city, borne in his coffin through its draped streets. With tears and lamentations a heart-broken people accompanied him from Washington, the scene of his martyrdom, to his last resting place in the young city of the West, where he had worked his way to fame.

Never was a new ruler in a more desperate plight than Lincoln when he entered office on the 4th of March, 1861, four months after his election, and took his oath to support the Constitution and the Union. The intervening time had been busily employed by the Southern States in carrying out their threat of disunion in the event of his election. As soon as that fact was ascertained, seven of them had seceded and had seized upon the forts, arsenals, navy yards and other public property of the United States within their boundaries, and were making every preparation for war. In the meantime the retiring President, who had been elected by the slave power, and who thought the seceding States could not lawfully be coerced, had

done absolutely nothing. Lincoln found himself, by the Constitution, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, but with only a remnant of either at hand. Each was to be created on a great scale out of the unknown resources of a nation untried in war.

In his mild and conciliatory inaugural address, while appealing to the seceding States to return to their allegiance, he avowed his purpose to keep the solemn oath he had taken that day, to see that the laws of the Union were faithfully executed, and to use the troops to recover the forts, navy yards, and other property belonging to the Government. It is probable, however, that neither side actually realized that war was inevitable, and that the other was determined to fight, until the assault on Fort Sumter presented the South as the first aggressor and roused the North to use every possible resource to maintain the Government and the imperilled Union, and to vindicate the supremacy of the flag over every inch of the territory of the United States. The fact that Lincoln's first Proclamation called for only 75,000 troops, to serve for three months, shows how inadequate was even his idea of what the future had in store. But from that moment Lincoln and his loyal supporters never faltered in their purpose. They knew they could win, that it was their duty to win, and that for America the whole hope of the future depended upon their winning, for now by the acts of the seceding States the issue of the Election — to secure or prevent the extension of

slavery — stood transformed into a struggle to preserve or to destroy the Union.

We cannot follow this contest. You know its gigantic proportions; that it lasted four years instead of three months; that in its progress instead of 75,000 men, more than 2,000,000 were enrolled on the side of the Government alone; that the aggregate cost and loss to the nation approximated to 2,000,000,000 pounds sterling, and that not less than 300,000 brave and precious lives were sacrificed on each side. History has recorded how Lincoln bore himself during these four frightful years; that he was the real President, the responsible and actual head of the Government through it all; that he listened to all advice, heard all parties, and then, always realizing his responsibility to God and the nation, decided every great executive question for himself. His absolute honesty had become proverbial long before he was President. "Honest Abe Lincoln" was the name by which he had been known for years. His every act attested it.

In all the grandeur of the vast power that he wielded, he never ceased to be one of the plain people, as he always called them, never lost or impaired his perfect sympathy with them, was always in perfect touch with them and open to their appeals; and here lay the very secret of his personality and of his power, for the people in turn gave him their absolute confidence. His courage, his fortitude, his patience, his hopefulness, were sorely tried but never exhausted.

He was true as steel to his Generals, but had frequent occasion to change them, as he found them inadequate. This serious and painful duty rested wholly on him, and was perhaps his most important function as Commander-in-Chief; but when, at last, he recognized in General Grant the master of the situation, the man who could and would bring the war to a triumphant end, he gave it all over to him, and upheld him with all his might. Amid all the pressure and distress that the burdens of office brought upon him, his unfailing sense of humor saved him — probably it made it possible for him to live under the burden. He had always been the great story-teller of the West, and he used and cultivated this faculty to relieve the weight of the load he bore.

It enabled him to keep the wonderful record of never having lost his temper, no matter what agony he had to bear. A whole night might be spent in recounting the stories of his wit, humor, and harmless sarcasm. But I will recall only two of his sayings, both about General Grant, who always found plenty of enemies and critics to urge the President to oust him from his command. One, I am sure, will interest all Scotchmen. They repeated with malicious intent the gossip that Grant drank. "What does he drink?" asked Lincoln. "Whiskey" was, of course, the answer; doubtless you can guess the brand. "Well," said the President, "just find out what particular kind he uses and I'll send a barrel to each of my other Generals." The other must be

as pleasing to the British as to the American ear. When pressed again on other grounds to get rid of Grant, he declared, " I can't spare that man, he fights! "

He was tender-hearted to a fault, and never could resist the appeals of wives and mothers of soldiers who had got into trouble and were under sentence of death for their offences. His Secretary of War and other officials complained that they never could get deserters shot. As surely as the women of the culprit's family could get at him, he always gave way. Certainly you will all appreciate his exquisite sympathy with the suffering relatives of those who had fallen in battle. His heart bled with theirs. Never was there a more gentle and tender utterance than his letter, to a mother who had given all her sons to her country, written at a time when the angel of death had visited almost every household in the land, and was already hovering over him.

" I have been shown," he says, " in the files of the War Department a statement that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from your grief for a loss so overwhelming — but I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation which may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and the lost,

and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom."

Hardly could your illustrious Sovereign, from the depths of her queenly and womanly heart, have spoken words more touching and tender to soothe the stricken mothers of her own soldiers.

The Emancipation Proclamation, with which Mr. Lincoln delighted the country and the world on the first of January, 1863, will doubtless secure for him a foremost place in history among the philanthropists and benefactors of the race, as it rescued, from hopeless and degrading slavery, so many millions of his fellow beings described in the law and existing in fact as " chattels-personal, in the hands of their owners and possessors, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever." Rarely does the happy fortune come to one man to render such a service to his kind — to proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof.

Ideas rule the world, and never was there a more signal instance of this triumph of an idea than here. William Lloyd Garrison, who thirty years before had begun his crusade for the abolition of slavery, and had lived to see this glorious and unexpected consummation of the hopeless cause to which he had devoted his life, well described the Proclamation as a " great historic event, sublime in its magnitude, momentous and beneficent in its far-reaching consequences, and

eminently just and right alike to the oppressor and the oppressed."

Lincoln had been always heart and soul opposed to slavery. Tradition says that on the trip on the flat boat to New Orleans, he formed his first and last opinion of slavery at the sight of negroes chained and scourged, and that then and there the iron entered into his soul. No boy could grow to manhood in those days as a poor white in Kentucky and Indiana, in close contact with slavery or in its neighborhood, without a growing consciousness of its blighting effects on free labor, as well of its frightful injustice and cruelty. In the Legislature of Illinois, where the public sentiment was all for upholding the institution and violently against every movement for its abolition or restriction, upon the passage of resolutions to that effect, he had the courage with one companion to put on record his protest, " believing that the institution of slavery is founded both in injustice and bad policy." No great demonstration of courage, you will say; but that was at a time when Garrison, for his abolition utterances, had been dragged by an angry mob through the streets of Boston with a rope around his body, and in the very year that Lovejoy in the same State of Illinois was slain by rioters while defending his press, from which he had printed anti-slavery appeals.

In Congress, he brought in a Bill for gradual abolition in the District of Columbia, with compensation to the owners — for until they raised treasonable hands against the life of the nation,

he always maintained that the property of the slave-holders, into which they had come by two centuries of descent, without fault on their part, ought not to be taken away from them without just compensation. He used to say that, one way or another, he had voted forty-two times for the Wilmot proviso, which Mr. Wilmot of Pennsylvania moved as an addition to every Bill which affected United States territory — "That neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of the said territory," — and it is evident that his condemnation of the system, on moral grounds as a crime against the human race, and on political grounds as a cancer that was sapping the vitals of the nation, and must master its whole being or be itself extirpated, grew steadily upon him until it culminated in his great speeches in the Illinois debate.

By the mere election of Lincoln to the Presidency, the further extension of slavery into the territories was rendered for ever impossible — *Vox populi, vox Dei.* Revolutions never go backward, and when founded on a great moral sentiment stirring the heart of an indignant people, their edicts are irresistible and final. Had the slave power acquiesced in that election, had the Southern States remained under the Constitution and within the Union, and relied upon their constitutional and legal rights, their favorite institution, immoral as it was, blighting and fatal as it was, might have endured for another century. The great party that had elected him, unalterably

determined against its extension, was nevertheless pledged not to interfere with its continuance in the States where it already existed. Of course, when new regions were for ever closed against it, from its very nature it must have begun to shrink and to dwindle; and probably gradual and compensated emancipation, which appealed very strongly to the new President's sense of justice and expediency, would, in the progress of time, by a reversion to the ideas of the Founders of the Republic, have found a safe outlet for both masters and slaves. But whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad, and when seven States, afterwards increased to eleven, openly seceded from the Union, when they declared and began the war upon the nation, and challenged its mighty power to the desperate and protracted struggle for its life, and for the maintenance of its authority as a nation over its territory, they gave to Lincoln and to freedom the sublime opportunity of history.

In his first inaugural address, when as yet not a drop of precious blood had been shed, while he held out to them the olive branch in one hand, in the other he presented the guarantees of the Constitution, and after reciting the emphatic resolution of the Convention that nominated him, that the maintenance inviolate of the " rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the per-

fection and endurance of our political fabric depend," he reiterated this sentiment and declared with no mental reservation, " that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded for whatever cause — as cheerfully to one section as to another."

When, however, these magnanimous overtures for peace and re-union were rejected; when the seceding States defied the Constitution and every clause and principle of it; when they persisted in staying out of the Union from which they had seceded, and proceeded to carve out of its territory a new and hostile empire based on slavery; when they flew at the throat of the nation and plunged it into the bloodiest war of the nineteenth century — the tables were turned, and the belief gradually came to the mind of the President that if the Rebellion was not soon subdued by force of arms, if the war must be fought out to the bitter end, then to reach that end the salvation of the nation itself might require the destruction of slavery wherever it existed; that if the war was to continue on one side for Disunion, for no other purpose than to preserve slavery, it must continue on the other side for the Union, to destroy slavery.

As he said, " Events control me; I cannot control events," and as the dreadful war progressed, and became more deadly and dangerous, the unalterable conviction was forced upon him that, in order that the frightful sacrifice of life and treas-

ure on both sides might not be all in vain, it had become his duty as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, as a necessary war measure, to strike a blow at the Rebellion which, all others failing, would inevitably lead to its annihilation, by annihilating the very thing for which it was contending. His own words are the best: —

"I understood that my oath to preserve the Constitution to the best of my ability imposed upon me the duty of preserving by every indispensable means that Government — that Nation, of which that Constitution was the organic law. Was it possible to lose the Nation and yet preserve the Constitution? By general law, life and limb must be protected; yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb. I felt that measures otherwise unconstitutional might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the Nation. Right or wrong, I assumed this ground and now avow it. I could not feel that, to the best of my ability, I had ever tried to preserve the Constitution if to save slavery or any minor matter, I should permit the wreck of Government, Country and Constitution all together."

And so, at last, when in his judgment the indispensable necessity had come, he struck the fatal blow, and signed the Proclamation which has made his name immortal. By it, the President, as Commander-in-Chief in time of actual armed rebellion, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing the rebellion, proclaimed all persons held

as slaves in the States and parts of States then in rebellion to be thenceforward free, and declared that the executive, with the Army and Navy, would recognize and maintain their freedom.

In the other great steps of the Government, which led to the triumphant prosecution of the war, he necessarily shared the responsibility and the credit with the great statesmen who stayed up his hands in his Cabinet — with Seward, Chase and Stanton and the rest, and with his generals and admirals, his soldiers and sailors — but this great act was absolutely his own. The conception and execution were exclusively his. He laid it before his Cabinet as a measure on which his mind was made up and could not be changed, asking them only for suggestions as to details. He chose the time and the circumstances under which the Emancipation should be proclaimed and when it should take effect.

It came not an hour too soon; but public opinion in the North would not have sustained it earlier. In the first eighteen months of the war its ravages had extended from the Atlantic to beyond the Mississippi. Many victories in the West had been balanced and paralyzed by inaction and disasters in Virginia, only partially redeemed by the bloody and indecisive battle of Antietam; a reaction had set in from the general enthusiasm which had swept the Northern States after the assault upon Sumter. It could not truly be said that they had lost heart, but faction was raising its head. Heard through the land like the blast of a bugle,

the Proclamation rallied the patriotism of the country to fresh sacrifices and renewed ardor. It was a step that could not be revoked. It relieved the conscience of the nation from an incubus that had oppressed it from its birth. The United States were rescued from the false predicament in which they had been from the beginning, and the great popular heart leaped with new enthusiasm for "Liberty and Union, henceforth and forever, one and inseparable." It brought not only moral but material support to the cause of the Government, for within two years 120,000 colored troops were enlisted in the military service and following the national flag, supported by all the loyalty of the North, and led by its choicest spirits. One mother said, when her son was offered the command of the first colored regiment, "If he accepts it I shall be as proud as if I had heard that he was shot." He was shot heading a gallant charge of his regiment. The Confederates replied to a request of his friends for his body that they "had buried him under a layer of his niggers"; but that mother has lived to enjoy thirty-six years of his glory, and Boston has erected its noblest monument to his memory.

The effect of the Proclamation upon the actual progress of the war was not immediate, but wherever the Federal armies advanced they carried freedom with them, and when the summer came round the new spirit and force which had animated the heart of the Government and people were manifest. In the first week of July, the decisive battle

of Gettysburg turned the tide of war, and the fall of Vicksburg made the great river free from its source to the Gulf.

On foreign nations the influence of the Proclamation and of these new victories was of great importance. In those days, when there was no cable, it was not easy for foreign observers to appreciate what was really going on; they could not see clearly the true state of affairs, as in the last year of the nineteenth century we have been able, by our new electric vision, to watch every event at the antipodes and observe its effect. The rebel emissaries, sent over to solicit intervention, spared no pains to impress upon the minds of public and private men and upon the press their own views of the character of the contest. The prospects of the Confederacy were always better abroad than at home. The Stock Markets of the world gambled upon its chances, and its bonds at one time were in high favor.

Such ideas as these were seriously held: that the North was fighting for empire, and the South for independence; that the Southern States, instead of being the grossest oligarchies, essentially despotisms, founded on the right of one man to appropriate the fruit of other men's toil and to exclude them from equal rights, were real republics, feebler to be sure than their Northern rivals, but representing the same idea of freedom, and that the mighty strength of the nation was being put forth to crush them; that Jefferson Davis and the Southern leaders had created a nation; that

the republican experiment had failed, and the Union had ceased to exist. But the crowning argument to foreign minds was that it was an utter impossibility for the Government to win in the contest; that the success of the Southern States, so far as separation was concerned, was as certain as any event yet future and contingent could be; that the subjugation of the South by the North, even if it could be accomplished, would prove a calamity to the United States and the world, and especially calamitous to the negro race; and that such a victory would necessarily leave the people of the South for many generations cherishing deadly hostility against the Government and the North, and plotting always to recover their independence.

When Lincoln issued his Proclamation, he knew that all these ideas were founded in error; that the national resources were inexhaustible; that the Government could and would win, and that if slavery were once finally disposed of, the only cause of difference being out of the way, the North and South would come together again and, by-and-by, be as good friends as ever. In many quarters abroad the Proclamation was welcomed with enthusiasm by the friends of America; but I think the demonstrations in its favor that brought more gladness to Lincoln's heart than any other, were the meetings held in the manufacturing centres by the very operatives upon whom the war bore the hardest, expressing the most enthusiastic sympathy with the Proclamation, while they bore with

heroic fortitude the grievous privations which the war entailed upon them. Mr. Lincoln's expectation when he announced to the world that all slaves in all States then in rebellion were set free, must have been that the avowed position of his Government, that the continuance of the war now meant the annihilation of slavery, would make intervention impossible for any foreign nation whose people were lovers of liberty, — and so the result proved.

The growth and development of Lincoln's mental power and moral force, of his intense and magnetic personality, after the vast responsibilities of Government were thrown upon him at the age of fifty-two, furnish a rare and striking illustration of the marvellous capacity and adaptability of the human intellect — of the sound mind in the sound body. He came to the discharge of the great duties of the Presidency with absolutely no experience in the administration of Government, or of the vastly varied and complicated questions of foreign and domestic policy which immediately arose, and continued to press upon him during the rest of his life; but he mastered each as it came, apparently with the facility of a trained and experienced ruler. As Clarendon said of Cromwell — "His parts seemed to be raised by the demands of great station." His life through it all was one of intense labor, anxiety and distress, without one hour of peaceful repose from first to last. But he rose to every occasion. He led public opinion, but did not march so far in advance of it as to

fail of its effective support in every great emergency. He knew the heart and thought of the people, as no man not in constant and absolute sympathy with them could have known it, and so, holding their confidence, he triumphed through and with them. Not only was there this steady growth of intellect, but the infinite delicacy of his nature and its capacity for refinement developed also, as exhibited in the purity and perfection of his language and style of speech. The rough backwoodsman, who had never seen the inside of a University, became in the end, by self-training and the exercise of his own powers of mind, heart and soul, a master of style — and some of his utterances will rank with the best, the most perfectly adapted to the occasion which produced them.

Have you time to listen to his two minutes' speech at Gettysburg, at the dedication of the Soldiers' Cemetery? His whole soul was in it:

"Four score and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate — we cannot consecrate — we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have conse-

crated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here — but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us — that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion — that we here highly resolve, that these dead shall not have died in vain — that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom — and that government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

He lived to see his work indorsed by an overwhelming majority of his countrymen. In his second Inaugural Address, pronounced just forty days before his death, there is a single passage which well displays his indomitable will and at the same time his deep religious feeling, his sublime charity to the enemies of his country and his broad and Catholic humanity:

"If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offences which in the Providence of God must needs come, but which having continued through the appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God

wills, that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsmen's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid with another drawn by the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, ' The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.' "

" With malice toward none, with charity for all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right — let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan — to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

His prayer was answered. The forty days of life that remained to him were crowded with great historic events. He lived to see his Proclamation of Emancipation embodied in an amendment of the Constitution, adopted by Congress and submitted to the States for ratification. The mighty scourge of war did speedily pass away, for it was given him to witness the surrender of the Rebel army and the fall of their capital, and the starry flag that he loved, waving in triumph over the national soil. When he died by the madman's hand in the supreme hour of victory, the vanquished lost their best friend, and the human race one of its noblest examples; and all the friends of freedom and justice, in whose cause he lived and died, joined hands as mourners at his grave.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

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Inaugural address, October 23rd, 1903, before the Birmingham and Midland Institute.

EDUCATION is now in all civilized countries the question of the hour, and the unsolved problems of secondary, technical, and university education are engaging universal attention. As a diversion from this general discussion, it may not be uninteresting to study the lives of those great and rare men who, without any of these extraneous aids, achieve undying fame and confer priceless blessings on mankind. For them schools, colleges, and universities are of little account, and are not required for their development. The world is their school, and necessity is often their only teacher, but their lives are the world's treasures. It is in this view that I ask your attention for a brief hour to the life, character, and achievements of Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia.

His whole career has been summed up by the great French statesman who was one of his personal friends and correspondents in six words, Latin words of course: —

"Eripuit cœlo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis," which, unfortunately for our language, cannot be translated into English in less than twelve: —

"He snatched the lightning from the skies and the sceptre from tyrants."

Surely the briefest and most brilliant biography ever written. He enlarged the boundaries of human knowledge by discovering laws and facts of Nature unknown before, and applying them to the use and service of man, and that entitles him to lasting fame. But his other service to mankind differed from this only in kind, and was quite equal in degree. For he stands second only to Washington in the list of heroic patriots who on both sides of the Atlantic stood for those fundamental principles of English liberty, which culminated in the independence of the United States, and have ever since been shared by the English-speaking race the world over.

You must all be familiar with the principal facts in Franklin's life. He was born a British subject at Boston in Massachusetts, then a village of about 12,000 inhabitants, in 1706, the year in which Marlborough won the battle of Ramillies and made every New Englander very proud of being a subject of Queen Anne. He was the fifteenth child in a family of seventeen, a rate of multiplication enough to frighten the life out of Malthus, and more than sufficient to satisfy the extreme demands of President Roosevelt. His father, born at Ecton in Northamptonshire, came of that ancient and sturdy Saxon yeomanry which has done so much for the making of England. Having followed the trade of a dyer for some years at Banbury, he emigrated in 1685 to Boston, where, finding little encouragement for his old trade, he engaged in the business of tallow chan-

dler and soap boiler. The boy could never remember when he learned to read and write, and at eight years old he was sent to the Boston Grammar School, one of those free common schools then and ever since the pride of the Colony and the State. But in two years, at the age of ten, his school days were over for ever. His father finding that with the heavy burden of his great family he could afford him no more education, took the child home to assist in his business, and the next two years the future philosopher and diplomatist spent in cutting candle wicks, filling moulds, tending the shop and running errands.

That he highly valued the little schooling that he had, meagre as it must have been, appears from his last will made sixty-two years afterwards, in which he says that he owed his first instruction in literature to the free grammar schools of his native town of Boston, and leaves to the town one hundred pounds sterling, the annual interest to be laid out in silver medals to be distributed as honorary rewards in those schools, and to this day the Franklin Medals are striven for and valued as the most honorable prize that a Boston boy can win.

But how did this particular boy, without an hour's tuition of any kind after he was ten years old, come to be the most famous American of his time, and win his place in the front rank of the world's scientists, diplomatists, statesmen, men of letters, and men of affairs? It was by sheer force of brains, character, severe self-discipline,

untiring industry and mother-wit. His predominant trait was practical common sense amounting to genius. God gave him the sound mind in the sound body, and he did the rest himself. He soon revolted at the vulgar duties of his father's business, and at the age of thirteen was apprenticed till his majority to his elder brother, who was a printer and bookseller, and the publisher of the *New England Courant,* one of the earliest newspapers in the Colonies.

From this time forward the printing office was his school and his university, and probably did more for him than Oxford or Harvard could then have done. With a raging thirst for knowledge he developed a keen and unfailing observation of things and of men, and, above all, a constant study of himself, of which he was a very rare example. He denied himself every pleasure but reading, and robbed his body of food and sleep that he might find time and food for his mind, reading every good book on which he could lay his hands. He soon mastered the art of printing as it was then known, and very early developed a faculty for the use of his pen which gave his brain a vent. He began with two ballads — " The Lighthouse Tragedy " and " Blackbeard the Pirate " — and hawked them about the town. The first, he says, sold wonderfully, but his father discouraged him by ridiculing his performances, and telling him verse makers were generally beggars, and " So," he says, " I escaped being a poet; most probably a very bad one."

So precocious was his literary faculty that very soon he began contributing leading articles to the *Courant,* and when he was sixteen, his brother having been placed under an interdict for criticizing the authorities, he became himself the publisher and editor, and of course the circulation increased. But he was still only an apprentice, and his manly and independent spirit found it as hard to brook the indignities and blows to which his master, though he was his brother, subjected him, as he had found it before to ladle the tallow and fill the moulds in his father's shop, and so at seventeen he took to his heels, shook the dust of Boston from his feet, and ran away to Philadelphia.

He landed in the Quaker City with but one dollar in his pocket, and as he had often dined on bread, he bought three rolls, and marched up Market Street, his pockets stuffed with shirts and stockings, eating one roll and with another under each arm. His future wife saw him in this guise as he passed her father's door, and thought he presented a ridiculous appearance, as he certainly did. But he had thoroughly learned his trade, and soon found employment as a journeyman printer. He would have gone on very well had he not been sent to London by the Governor of the Province on a promise of business which totally failed. He found himself in that great city without a friend, and with little money in his pocket. But he soon found employment at good wages in the best printing offices at thirty shil-

lings a week, lodged in Little Britain at three and sixpence, and so managed to keep his head above water for eighteen months, but lived an aimless and somewhat irregular life.

However, he worked hard at his trade, and made some ingenious acquaintances, among them Sir Hans Sloane; the founder of the British Museum, and Sir William Wyndham, once Chancellor of the Exchequer — the former by selling him a curiosity which he had brought from America; the latter by his skill in swimming, in which he had from boyhood been a great expert. His own account of this last acquaintance is not a little diverting. He had visited Chelsea with a party of friends, and on the return by water was induced to give them an exhibition of his skill in this manly art. He swam all the way from Chelsea to Blackfriars, performing many feats of agility both upon and under water that surprised and pleased the spectators. Sir William, hearing of this, sent for him, and offered if he would teach his two sons to swim to set him up in that business, and so he might have spent his life in London as the head of a swimming school, and never have lived to snatch the lightning from the clouds or the sceptre from tyrants, or to change the map of the world.

Before leaving London he accepted from a reputable merchant who was returning to Philadelphia an offer of a clerkship, and in a few months, he learned much of the business, but was thrown out of it by the death of his employer, and by a

terrible illness, from which he barely recovered. Referring to this illness he wrote his own epitaph, which, fortunately for the world, there was no occasion to use: —

The Body
of
Benjamin Franklin
(Like the cover of an old book,
Its contents torn out
and stripped of its lettering and binding),
Lies here, food for worms.
Yet the work itself shall not be lost,
For it will, as he believed, appear once more
In a new
And more beautiful Edition,
Corrected and Amended
By
The Author.

Soon after this illness he turned over a new leaf, with firm resolve to train himself for a successful and honorable life by the practice of every virtue. He returned to his old business of printing, which for twenty years he followed with the utmost diligence, and became very prosperous.

About this time he conceived the bold and arduous project of arriving at moral perfection, and rigidly schooled himself in the virtues of temperance, order, resolution, frugality, industry, sincerity, moderation, and cleanliness. By constant reading, study, and observation he made the very best of the great mental capacity with which he had been endowed by Nature. He set to work

deliberately and with conscientious fidelity to improve to the best advantage all his faculties, not for his own good and happiness only, but for the benefit of the community to which he belonged. From an odd volume of the *Spectator* which fell into his hands he modelled his style, training himself more rigorously than any school could have trained him, and thus acquired very early in life that power of clear and lucid expression which made all his subsequent writings so effective.

A brilliant modern writer, Hugh Black, has said that " culture is the conscious training in which a man makes use of every educational means within his reach, feeding his inner life by every vital force in history and experience, and so adjusting himself to his environment that he shall absorb the best products of the life of his time, thus making his personality rich and deep."

It was this self-culture that Franklin sought to attain, and he never lost sight of his object. Self-control once achieved, enabled him in large measure to control others. No wonder, then, that in Philadelphia, at that time already a large city, he not only rapidly achieved success in his business, but became before long a marked figure in Pennsylvania and throughout the thirteen Colonies. He never wasted time, and so time never wasted him, and at the age of forty-two he was able to withdraw from the active management of his business, and to devote himself to public affairs and to scientific studies in which his soul delighted.

In the meantime, and always in the way of business, he had engaged in two literary ventures, which at the same time exercised his active brains, and extended his reputation very widely. He purchased the *Pennsylvania Gazette* when it was on the verge of ruin and collapse, and it became under his editorship the best newspaper in America, and by means of it he exercised vast power and influence throughout the Colonies. And *Poor Richard's Almanac,* which he started when he was twenty-six years old, and continued to publish for twenty-five years, proved to be a splendid vehicle for the exercise of his wonderful common-sense, lively wit, and keen interest in all sorts of affairs. He was very human, and nothing human escaped his searching interest. It was an almanac designed for the general diffusion of knowledge among the people. Where there were few or no books, it found its way with the Bible into every household in the land. Every number was full of worldly wisdom, proverbial philosophy, inculcating the practice of all the homely virtues, such as honesty, frugality, industry, temperance, and thrift as the sure guides to success and happiness, and with all this a generous sprinkling of the liveliest wit and fun. Its circulation rapidly multiplied, and Poor Richard, as a pseudonym of Benjamin Franklin, made him and his personal traits, which it so fitly displayed, familiar in every household, and the influence which he wielded by it was simply unbounded.

In later years he published "Father Abra-

ham's Speech," which was a comprehensive summing up of all Poor Richard's good things, ransacking all literature for proverbs of wit and wisdom and inventing many of his own, touching the conduct of life at all points, so far as utility and worldly advantage are concerned. The world greedily seized it and still cherishes it, for it may now be read, not in English only, but in French, German, Spanish, Italian, Russian, Dutch, Bohemian, Modern Greek, Gaelic, and Portuguese. Under the title " Science du Bonhomme Richard " it has been thirty times printed in French and twice in Italian, and as " The Way to Wealth " twenty-seven times in English in pamphlet form, and innumerable times as a broadside. It is by far the most famous piece the Colonies ever produced. No wonder, for if any man would follow its precepts as faithfully as Franklin did himself, he was sure to become healthy, wealthy, and wise. A cheerful temperament that was worth millions, and irresistible good humor, pervaded all he wrote. Sydney Smith, another example of the same traits, by way of playful menace, said to his daughter " I will disinherit you, if you do not admire everything written by Franklin."

From the time that his circumstances permitted him to do anything but work solely for daily bread, Franklin manifested and cultivated a constant interest in public affairs, and his unerring instinct for public service was as keen as if he had been specially trained to that end at Oxford or at

Cambridge. His fellow citizens, recognizing his capacity and efficiency, eagerly availed themselves of his leadership in every public movement. Thus he became the founder or promoter of the first debating society for mutual culture and improvement in Philadelphia, the first subscription library, the first fire club, of the American Philosophical Society, and of what finally became the University of Pennsylvania, which still holds a deservedly high rank among institutions of learning. Under his inspiring lead Philadelphia became better lighted, better paved, better policed, and better read than any other city on the continent. As Clerk, and for many years a Member of the Assembly, Postmaster of Philadelphia, and Deputy Postmaster-General for the Continent, he rendered great service, and came to know the affairs of his own and the other Colonies, and thus became known himself better than any other man in the land.

In 1754 he was the leading spirit in the Convention held at Albany, to form a plan for the common defence of the Colonies and the Empire against the French and Indians. It was Franklin who devised the broad and comprehensive scheme which the Convention adopted, many features of which subsequently appeared in the Constitution of the United States. But it was rejected by the Colonies because it gave too much power to the Crown, and by the British Government because it gave too much power to the Colonies — a sure proof of that wise moderation

which always characterized its author. In the following year he rendered great services to General Braddock, who had entered on his ill-fated expedition for the capture of Fort Duquesne without proper supplies or means of transportation, and after his calamitous defeat Franklin actually took the field with a considerable military force, and commanded on the frontier, building stockades and forts, and protecting the panic-stricken Colonists from the threatened onset of the enemy.

Carlyle thus describes Franklin's services to Braddock: —

"About New Year's Day, 1755, Braddock with his two regiments and completed apparatus got to sea; arrived 20th February at Williamsburg, Virginia; found now that this was not the place to arrive at; that he would lose six weeks of marching by not having landed in Pennsylvania instead; found that his stores had been mispacked at Cork; that this had happened and also that — and, in short, found that chaos had been very considerably prevalent in this adventure of his, and did still in all that now lay round it prevail. Poor Braddock took the Colonial militia regiments; Colonel Washington, as aide-de-camp, took the Indians and appendages, Colonel Chaos much presiding; and, after infinite delays and confused hagglings, got on march — 2,000 regulars, and of all sorts say 4,000 strong.

"Got on march, sprawled and haggled up the Alleghanies — such a commissariat, such a wagon service as was seldom seen before. Poor General and Army, he was like to be starved outright at one time, had not a certain Mr. Franklin come to him with charitable oxen with £500 worth provisions, live and dead, subscribed

for at Philadelphia. Mr. Benjamin Franklin, since celebrated over all the world, who did not much admire this iron tempered general with the pipe-clay brain."

Thus, by the time he reached middle life, Franklin had become the best known and most important man in the Colonies; but with all his varied work he had never lost sight of science and its practical application to the service of man, which was really his first love. His vast reading had made him a living encyclopædia, and he had managed to acquire some knowledge of French, Italian, Spanish, and Latin, which then and afterwards stood him in great stead. His inventive genius was called into constant play, and he made from time to time many new and useful inventions, for no one of which would he ever take a patent or any personal advantage to himself, for he said that as we enjoy great advantages from the inventions of others, we should be glad to give the world the benefit of our own.

But his discoveries and inventions finally culminated in his studies and experiments in electricity, and their startling and marvellous result made him as famous in all other countries as he already was in his own, and placed him in the very front rank of living men. The story of Franklin and his kite drawing the lightning from the clouds, and making positive practical proof of its identity with electricity, has been too often told to need to be repeated here. It was no lucky accident. It was seven years since the Leyden

Jar, the first storage battery of electricity, was made, and during the whole interval Franklin and all the other scientists in the world interested in the subject had been studying and experimenting to find out what this mysterious substance was. He had been writing from 1747 to 1751 the results of his investigations to his friend Collinson in London, by whom they were read at the Royal Society, at first, as he says, only to be ignored or laughed at.

In May, 1751, came Franklin's masterly but very modest paper declaring the identity of electricity and lightning, and suggesting how by pointed iron electricity might be actually drawn from a storm cloud, and buildings and ships protected from its danger. It was soon translated into French, German, and Latin, had great sales, and made a tremendous sensation. But Franklin's fame reached the highest point when D'Alibard, a French philosopher, following the suggestions in his pamphlet, constructed an apparatus exactly as Franklin had directed, and made actual demonstration of the truth of his theory, a month before the great discoverer himself flew his kite in his garden in Philadelphia.

Franklin took the universal applause that followed as quietly and modestly as he had put forth his suggestions. It was all fun to him from the beginning. Dr. Priestley says that at the close of the first summer of his experiments, when it grew too hot to continue them, the Philosopher had a party on the banks of the Schuylkill, at which

spirits were first fired by a spark sent from side to side through the river without any other conductor than the water, a turkey was killed for their dinner by the *electrical* shock and roasted by the *electrical* jack, before a fire kindled by the *electrified* bottle, when the health of all the famous *electricians* in England, Holland, France, and Germany was drunk in *electrified* bumpers under a discharge of guns from the *electrical* battery. Honors and distinctions now crowded upon him: the Royal Society, as if to make quick amends for its previous neglect, by a unanimous vote made him a member, exempting him from the payment of all dues, and the next year with every circumstance of distinction awarded him the Copley Medal, and Yale and Harvard conferred their honorary degrees upon him.

However much the people of Pennsylvania appreciated and enjoyed his growing fame, they were not willing to give him up to science, but enlisted his services and insisted upon his leadership in every great political question. When the dispute between the Penns as Proprietors and the people of Pennsylvania, on the claim of the former that their estates should be exempt from taxation, reached a crisis in 1756, the Provincial Assembly decided to appeal to the King in Council for a redress of their grievances, and who but Franklin should go to represent them?

This vexatious business, finally ending in a compromise which was on the whole satisfactory to his constituents, detained him in England for up-

wards of five years — from the summer of 1757 till 1762. Times and the man had changed since the stranded journeyman printer took lodgings in Little Britain at three and sixpence a week, and won his chief distinction by swimming in the Thames from Chelsea to the City.

The houses of the great were now thrown wide open to him, and the modest house in Craven Street, where he took up his residence, and which is still marked by a tablet to commemorate the fact as one of the notable reminiscences of London, was thronged by great scientists to congratulate him on his triumphs, and to witness at his own hands his scientific experiments. Congratulatory letters reached him from all parts of Europe. He made the acquaintance and friendship of such men as Priestley, Fothergill, Garrick, Lord Shelburne, Lord Stanhope, Edmund Burke, Adam Smith and David Hume, Dr. Robertson, Lord Kames and David Hartley, with all of whom he enjoyed delightful intercourse. He witnessed the Coronation of George the Third, and revelled in the meetings of the Royal Society, where his welcome was very warm. Pitt, who had vastly weightier things upon his mind than Franklin's errand — Pitt, who afterwards as Lord Chatham was, as we shall see, one of his staunchest friends and admirers, he found inaccessible.

At this time Franklin was a most intensely loyal British subject, and gloried in the anticipation of the future greatness and power of the British Empire, of which the Colonies formed no

mean part. In this respect, the Colonists whom he represented were all of the same mind. Green, in his "History of the English People," says of them at this time: "From the thought of separation almost every American turned as yet with horror. The Colonists still looked to England as their home. They prided themselves on their loyalty, and they regarded the difficulties which hindered complete sympathy between the settlements and the mother country as obstacles which time and good sense could remove."

He freely lent the aid of his powerful pen while in England to the maintenance of British interests. In his pamphlet, to which great praise was awarded, on the question whether Canada or the sugar islands of Guadeloupe, both of which had been conquered, should be restored to France in the event of peace, and in which he stoutly maintained the retention of Canada, he declared that a union of the Colonies to rebel against the mother country was impossible. "But," he added, "when I say such a union is impossible, I mean without the most grievous tyranny and oppression. People who have property in a country which they may lose, and privileges which they may endanger, are generally disposed to be quiet, and even to bear much rather than to hazard all. While the Government is mild and just, while important civil and religious rights are secure, such subjects will be dutiful and obedient. The waves do not rise but when the winds blow. What such an administration as the Duke of Alva's in the

Netherlands might produce I know not, but this I think I have a right to deem impossible." When Mr. Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden, a stalwart friend of America through all her troubles, said to him, " For all that you Americans say of your loyalty and all that, I know that you will one day throw off your dependence on this country, and notwithstanding your boasted affection for it, you will set up for independence," he answered, " No such idea was ever entertained by the Americans, nor will any such ever enter their heads unless you grossly abuse them." " Very true," replied Pratt, " that is one of the main causes I see will happen, and will produce the event."

But Franklin was more than a staunch loyalist. He was an Imperialist in the most stalwart sense of the word, and on a very broad gauge. His biographer, Parton, truly says: " It was one of Franklin's most cherished opinions that the greatness of England and the happiness of America depended chiefly upon their being cordially united. The ' country ' which Franklin loved was not England nor America, but the great and glorious Empire which these two united to form."

And Franklin himself wrote to Lord Kames on this visit: " No one can more sincerely rejoice than I do on the reduction of Canada, and this is not merely as I am a Colonist but as I am a Briton. I have long been of opinion that the foundations of the future grandeur and stability of the British Empire lie in America; and though,

like other foundations, they are low and little now, they are nevertheless broad and strong enough to support the greatest political structure that human wisdom ever yet erected. I am, therefore, by no means for restoring Canada. If we keep it, all the country from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi will in another century be filled with British people. Britain itself will become vastly more populous by the immense increase of its commerce; the Atlantic Sea will be covered with your trading ships, and your naval power thence continually increasing will extend your influence round the whole globe and awe the world."

Again he wrote, in 1774: "It has long appeared to me that the only true British policy was that which aimed at the good of the whole British Empire, not that which sought the advantage of one part in the disadvantage of the others; therefore, all measures of procuring gain to the Mother Country arising from loss to her Colonies, and all of gain to the Colonies arising from or occasioning loss to Britain, especially where the gain was small and the loss great. . . . I in my own mind condemned as improper, partial, unjust, and mischievous, tending to create dissensions, and weaken that Union on which the strength, solidity, and duration of the Empire greatly depended; and I opposed, as far as my little powers went, all proceedings, either here or in America, that in my opinion had such tendency."

This first protracted stay in England was evidently one of the happiest periods of his long and

useful life. For the first time he enjoyed abundant leisure, and the opportunity to indulge to the full among congenial and sympathetic friends his joyous social disposition and love of the best company. He made many delightful country visits, and excursions to Scotland, France, and Holland, and greatly enjoyed the recognition he received in the degrees of LL. D. at Edinburgh, and D. C. L. at Oxford. He sought out the humble birthplace of his father at Ecton, and worshipped in the ancient church around which his rude forefathers slept. In 1762 he returned to America with regret, apparently almost wishing to come back and spend the rest of his days here. For not long after his return he wrote to Mr. Strahan, one of the friends he left behind him: "No friend can wish me more in England than I do myself. But before I go everything I am concerned in must be so settled here as to make another return to America unnecessary;" and again, "I own that I sometimes suspect my love to England and my friends there seduces me a little, and makes my own reasons for going over appear very good ones."

So there was at least a possibility that he might become a resident of England for the rest of his life, and thus the wheels of Time might have been set back awhile, in fixing the date of the final separation of the American Colonies from Great Britain, which sooner or later was obviously inevitable.

But, wholly unexpectedly to himself, Franklin

was destined to spend ten years more in England, years equally momentous to himself, to the Colonies which he represented, and to the Mother Country of which he was so loyal and devoted a son.

Hardly had he reached Philadelphia on his return from his five years' sojourn here, when there was a new outbreak of the old trouble between the people of the Province and the Penns as Proprietaries of Pennsylvania as to their claim to exemption of their property from taxation. Worse still, the ominous news came from London that George Grenville had determined upon the passage of the dreaded Stamp Act, and thereby to impose taxes upon the Colonies by Act of Parliament, in defiance of what they claimed as their immemorial right and usage to pay only such internal taxes as their own provincial governments should impose. They did not dispute or seek to shirk their obligations to grant aid to the King, and make their just contribution to the common cause, but insisted upon their right to do it in what they claimed to be the only constitutional way, by the vote of their own representatives, and that taxation without representation — without their consent — was an injustice to which they would not submit.

No sooner did these dismal tidings reach Pennsylvania, than Franklin was again dispatched to London to do the best he could to prevent the disastrous measure. And what was now of much less importance, to present to the King the petition

of the people of Pennsylvania, that he would take the government of that Province into his own hands, they making such compensation to the Penns as should be just. But of course the question of the injustice of taxation without representation and contrary to ancient usage, which affected all the Colonies alike, swallowed up all local issues. Franklin arrived only in time to find that the immediate passage of the odious measure was inevitable. He joined with the agents of the other Colonies in an appeal to Grenville, but all their efforts were fruitless. "We might," said Franklin, "as well have hindered the sun's setting. Less resistance was made to the Act in the House of Commons than to a common turnpike Bill, and the affair passed with so little noise that in town they scarcely knew the nature of what was doing."

Having done all that he could to prevent the passage of the Act, Franklin was inclined to counsel submission. But public opinion in the Colonies was obstinate, and by unanimous action they refused to obey it, or to take the stamped paper on any terms. To the great disgust of his constituents, by whom he was denounced as a traitor, he went so far, at the request of the Government, as to nominate a stamp distributor under the Act for Pennsylvania. But he and all the other officials under the Act were compelled by the anger of the colonists to decline or resign. Agreements were signed everywhere not to buy any British goods imported, and English trade fell off to such a

degree that the new Administration under Lord Rockingham, who had opposed the Act, very quickly considered its repeal.

One of the most celebrated incidents of Franklin's career was his examination by a Committee of the House of Commons, which was considering the question of repeal. He was summoned before it to give evidence respecting the state of affairs in America — a subject on which he was better informed than any other man in the world.

Without passion, with perfect coolness and absolute knowledge, he demonstrated that the Act was unjust, inexpedient, and impossible of execution, and gave convincing proof that it should be immediately repealed.

His testimony is one of the most memorable pieces of evidence in the English language, and some of his answers can never be forgotten. Being asked what was the temper of America towards Great Britain before 1763 — (it will be remembered that the Stamp Act was passed in 1765) — he said:

"The best in the world. They submitted willingly to the Government of the Crown, and paid in their Courts obedience to the Acts of Parliament. They had not only a respect but an affection for Great Britain, for its laws, its customs, and manners, and even a fondness for its fashions that greatly increased the commerce. Natives of Britain were always treated with particular regard. To be an Old England Man was of itself a character of some respect, and gave a kind of rank among us. . . . They considered the Parliament as the

great bulwark of their liberties and privileges, and always spoke of it with the utmost respect and veneration. Arbitrary Ministers, they thought, might possibly at times attempt to oppress them, but they relied on it that Parliament on application would always give redress."

"*Q.* Can anything less than a military force carry the Stamp Act into execution?

"*A.* I do not see how a military force can be applied to that purpose.

"*Q.* Why may it not?

"*A.* Suppose a military force sent into America they will find nobody in arms. What are they then to do? They cannot force a man to take stamps who chooses to do without them. They will not find a rebellion: they may indeed make one.

"*Q.* If the Act is not repealed, what do you think will be the consequences?

"*A.* A total loss of the respect and affection the people of America bear to this Country, and of all the commerce that depends on that respect and affection.

"*Q.* If the Stamp Act should be repealed, and the Crown should make a requisition to the Colonies for a sum of money, would they grant it?

"*A.* I believe they would.

"*Q.* Why do you think so?

"*A.* I can speak for the Colony I live in. I had it in instruction from the Assembly to assure the Ministry, that as they had always done, so they should always think it their duty to grant such aids to the Crown as were suitable to their circumstances and abilities, whenever called upon for that purpose in the usual constitutional manner.

"*Q.* Would they do this for a British concern, as

suppose a war in some part of Europe that did not affect them?

"*A.* Yes, for anything that concerned the general interest. They consider themselves a part of the whole.

"*Q.* Don't you know that there is in the Pennsylvania Charter an express reservation of the right of Parliament to lay taxes there?

"*A.* I know there is a clause in the Charter by which the King grants that he will levy no taxes on the inhabitants unless it be with the consent of the Assembly or by Act of Parliament.

"*Q.* How then could the Assembly of Pennsylvania assert that laying a tax on them by the Stamp Act was an infringement of their right?

"*A.* They understand it thus — By the same Charter and otherwise, *they are entitled to all the privileges and liberties of Englishmen.* They find in the Great Charters and the Petition and Declaration of Rights that one of the privileges of English subjects is that they are not to be taxed but by their common consent. They have, therefore, relied upon it from the first settlement of the Province that the Parliament never would, nor could, by color of that clause in the Charter, assume a right of taxing them till it had qualified itself by admitting representatives from the people to be taxed, who ought to make a part of that common consent."

So clear, convincing, and irresistible was Franklin's testimony, that the repeal of the Stamp Act followed immediately. His evidence before the Committee closed on the 13th of February. On the 21st, General Conway moved for leave to introduce in the House of Commons a Bill to Repeal — which was carried. The Bill took its third

reading in that House on the 5th of March. It passed the House of Lords on the 17th, and on the 18th of March, only five weeks after Franklin had been heard, the King signed the Bill.

The debates on that critical occasion, which promised for the moment to reconcile England and her Colonies forever, have been but scantily reported, but Pitt, in support of the repeal, in one of his last speeches as the Great Commoner, is said to have surpassed his own great fame; and Burke's renown as a Parliamentary orator was established. Macaulay says: "Two great orators and statesmen belonging to two different generations repeatedly put forth all their powers in defence of the Bill (for repeal). The House of Commons heard Pitt for the last time and Burke for the first time, and was in doubt to which of them the palm of eloquence should be assigned. It was indeed a splendid sunset and a splendid dawn."

Franklin's own personal way of celebrating the joyous event of the Repeal of the Stamp Act was peculiarly characteristic of that spirit of fun and good humor which pervaded his whole life. He made it the occasion of sending a new gown to his wife. He wrote her: "As the Stamp Act is at length repealed, I am willing you should have a new gown, which you may suppose I did not send sooner, as I knew you would not like to be finer than your neighbours unless in a gown of your own spinning. Had the trade between the two countries totally ceased, it was a comfort to

me to recollect, that I had once been clothed from head to foot in woollen and linen of my wife's manufacture, that I never was prouder of any dress in my life, and that she and her daughter might do it again if it was necessary. I told the Parliament, that it was my opinion, before the old clothes of the Americans were worn out, they might have new ones of their own making. I have sent you a fine piece of Pompadour satin, fourteen yards, cost eleven shillings a yard, a silk *négligée* and petticoat of brocaded lute-string for my dear Sally, with two dozen gloves, four bottles of lavender water, and two little reels. The reels are to screw on the edge of the table when she would wind silk or thread."

The repeal, following so closely as it did on the close of Franklin's examination as its necessary sequence, raised to a very high point his reputation in England, where he already commanded universal respect and esteem, and roused the Colonies to the wildest enthusiasm over his name. His constituents in Philadelphia, quite ashamed of their recent criticism upon him, gave him the whole credit of the great result.

Everybody on both sides of the water, except the King and the "household troops," as Burke called them, hoped with him that "that day's danger and honor would have been a bond to hold us all together forever. But alas! that, with other pleasing visions is long since vanished."

The attempt to impose taxation by Act of Par-

liament on the Colonies was almost immediately renewed, and ushered in that long and unhappy controversy which finally resulted in the accumulation of oppressive measures on the one side, and acts of resistance on the other, that brought the Colonists to an appeal to arms in defence of what they deemed to be their rights and liberties.

We will not undertake to rake over the ashes of the memorable contest, to measure out praise or blame to one side or the other. Historians are now happily agreed that the leaders on both sides in the great struggle were actuated by honest intentions and patriotic motives. It was impossible for them to see in the same light the great questions of right and of policy which divided them, and which nothing but the final separation of the Colonies from the Crown could solve.

It might be claimed with some show of reason that, at the outset at least, it was not a contest between the English people and the American people, but between the King with a submissive Ministry and Parliament here and his subjects beyond the sea, and that a great part of the English people had very little to do with it. If we may accept the statements of your own most approved historians, large portions of the English people were no more represented in the Parliament than the Colonists themselves.

I may be permitted to quote once more in this connection from Green's "History of the English People." He is speaking of Parliament between

1760 and 1767, the very time we have been considering:—

"Great towns like Manchester and Birmingham remained without a member, while members still sat for boroughs which, like Old Sarum, had actually vanished from the face of the earth. . . . Some boroughs were 'the King's boroughs,' others obediently returned nominees of the Ministry of the day, others were 'close boroughs' in the hands of jobbers like the Duke of Newcastle, who at one time returned a third of all the borough members in the House. . . . Even in the counties the suffrage was ridiculously limited and unequal. Out of a population of eight millions of English people, only a hundred and sixty thousand were electors at all!"

What would be thought to-day of great questions of national policy being decided by a House of Commons in which neither Birmingham nor Manchester had a representative, and in the election of whose members only one person out of fifty of the English people had a vote!

At any rate, we may, I think, exchange congratulations to-night, that with our great struggle the good people of Birmingham had literally nothing to do, and at least a considerable portion of the people of England hardly more.

But you get an idea of the vast difficulties with which Franklin, who gallantly remained at his post in London through all those weary years from 1766 to 1775, had to contend, as the representative of the United Colonies, for, besides

Pennsylvania, he was presently made the agent of Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Georgia. "His great powers," says John Fiske, "were earnestly devoted to preventing a separation between England and America. His methods were eminently conciliatory, but the independence of character with which he told unwelcome truths made him an object of intense dislike to the King and his friends, who regarded him as aiming to undermine the Royal authority in America." But it is not to be forgotten that Chatham, Burke, Fox, Barrè, and Conway, all champions of the cause of the Colonists, were regarded in the same light by the same party.

And strange to say, down to this time Franklin had no suspicion that the obnoxious measures of the Ministry had their origin or chief backing in the Royal closet. "I hope nothing that has happened or may happen," he wrote in the spring of 1769, "will diminish in the least our loyalty to our Sovereign, or affection for this nation in general. I can scarcely conceive a King of better dispositions, of more exemplary virtues, or more truly desirous of promoting the welfare of his subjects." "The body of this people, too, is of a noble and generous nature, loving and honoring the spirit of liberty, and hating arbitrary power of all sorts. We have many, very many, friends among them."

No doubt, however, he did in the end incur the King's hearty displeasure; and a story that has long been current would seem to indicate that the

royal mind at last opposed even his views on electricity, of which it might have been supposed that Franklin was himself king. The substance of Franklin's discovery was that sharp points of iron would draw electricity from the clouds, and he recommended lightning rods with such sharp points. The story is that in the heat of his animosity against the Americans and Franklin the King insisted, on political grounds, that on Kew Palace they should have blunt knobs instead of sharp points. The question between sharps and blunts became a Court question, the Courtiers siding with the King, their adversaries with Franklin. The King called upon Sir John Pringle, President of the Royal Society, for an opinion on his side in favour of the knobs, but Pringle hinted in reply that the laws of Nature were not changeable at the Royal pleasure. How far the story in detail is true can only now be guessed from a well-known epigram that was actually current: —

"While you, great George, for safety hunt,
And sharp conductors change for blunt,
The empire's out of joint.
Franklin a wiser course pursues,
And all your thunder fearless views,
By keeping to the point."

During these ten years in London Franklin kept up a lively fire of pamphlets and communications to the newspapers, advocating with all the resources of his wisdom, wit, and satire the integ-

rity of the Empire and the cause of the Colonists. Two of these — "Rules for reducing a great Empire to a small one," and "An Edict of the King of Prussia" — had a tremendous circulation, and became, and continued for many years, very famous. He continued his philosophical investigations, and was also the most popular diner-out in London, where the charms of his conversation made him a universal favourite. He maintained his intimate association with the most distinguished men of science and learning, and a most loving and constant correspondence with his wife, daughter, and sister, from whom his protracted separation was to his great and tender heart a source of constant anxiety and privation.

But at last, as the prolonged contest waxed hotter and hotter, as the representative of all the Colonies he became the very storm centre round which all the elements of discord and growing hatred gathered in full force, and was often the target for the attacks of both sides. In England the Ministry regarded him as too much of an American, and the most ardent patriots at home as too much of an Englishman. He evidently thought that both sides were in fault. Here he constantly exerted all his great powers to justify his countrymen and uphold their cause. To them by every mail he urged patience and moderation, begging them to give the Ministry no ground against them. As Mr. Parton truly says, "His entire influence and all the resources of his mind were employed from the beginning of the contro-

versy in 1765 to the first conflict in 1775, to the one object of healing the breach and preventing the separation."

But at such times, when the air is charged with mutual suspicion and hatred, when forebodings of war are agitating the public mind, what Hamlet says is more true than ever:

> "Be thou as chaste as ice, as pure as snow, thou shalt not escape calumny."

The Court party professed to regard him as the embodiment of all the alleged sins and offences which they imputed to the entire body of Colonists, and they determined at all hazards to make an end of him. The news was on the way of the famous Boston tea party, in which a body of leading citizens of the New England capital in disguise boarded the ships that brought the tea, on which the obnoxious duty had been imposed, and emptied it all into salt water. The whole harbor of Boston became a seething cauldron of East India Company's tea on which no duty had been paid. Passive resistance was at last breaking out into open rebellion. Probably the frenzy of excitement on both sides had never reached such fever heat — and in January, 1774, the storm burst on the head of the devoted Franklin.

I shall not attempt to describe the scene in the Cockpit at the meeting of the Committee of Lords of the Privy Council, met to pass upon the Petition of the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay

for the removal of the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. Franklin had transmitted to the Speaker of the Assembly, as in duty bound, their letters showing, as he believed, a studied purpose on the part of the colonial Royal officers to bring down more stringent measures upon the Colonists and to abridge their liberties, and he had sent them, as he was expressly authorized to do, for the avowed purpose of mitigating the wrath of the Colonists against the Government at home which, as they believed, had initiated and was solely responsible for those measures.

The hearing before the Committee of the Privy Council, on the petition of the people of Massachusetts to remove these officers because of the letters, was made the occasion of a ferocious attack upon Franklin, who had presented the Petition. The Solicitor-General overwhelmed him with vituperation, while the Lords of the Committee applauded with jeers, and cheers, an attack universally condemned ever since. His calm self-command and unruffled dignity, as he stood for an hour to receive the pitiless storm of calumny, in such marked contrast to the conduct of his assailant and his titled applauders, is striking evidence of his conscious innocence. Upon the canvas of history he stands out from that ignoble scene a heroic figure, bearing silent testimony to the cause of the Colonists for whose sake he suffered — not a muscle moved, not a heartbeat quickened — and casting into the shade of lasting oblivion all those who joined in the assault upon

him. He said to Dr. Priestley next day that " he had never before been so sensible of the power of a good conscience; for that, if he had not considered the thing for which he had been so much insulted as one of the best actions of his life, and what he should certainly do again in the same circumstances, he could not have supported it." An eye-witness who watched him closely says, " He stood conspicuously erect without the smallest movement of any part of his body. The muscles of his face had been previously composed so as to afford a tranquil expression of countenance, and he did not suffer the slightest alteration of it to appear during the continuance of the speech."

He has been blamed by several writers of high repute, but on what exact ground is not definitely specified. From whose hands he received the letters is not known. He did receive them confidentially " from a gentleman of character and distinction," but who he was was a secret which, at any cost to himself, Franklin was bound to keep, and he carried it to the grave with him at the cost of all the dust and obloquy that has been thrown about the matter. Having come honorably into possession of the letters, he could not have withheld the knowledge of them from the leaders of the Colony to whom he was responsible for his conduct, without a breach of trust towards them, and his countrymen, who justly regarded the assault upon him as an affront to themselves, accepted his own view and statement of the matter.

There is no doubt that the powerful invectives of Wedderburn, which were extremely eloquent and ingenious, and became the talk of the town, did seriously impair the prestige of Franklin during the rest of his stay in London. On the following day he was summarily dismissed from his office of Deputy Postmaster-General. But all this did not deprive him of the respect and esteem of the distinguished friends whom his character and commanding abilities had gathered about him.

"I do not find," he wrote a fortnight after the assault, "that I have lost a single friend on the occasion. All have visited me repeatedly with affectionate assurances of their unaltered respect and affection, and many of distinction, with whom I had before but slight acquaintance."

In demonstration of his own fidelity to Franklin, Lord Chatham not long afterwards, on the occasion of a great debate on American affairs in the House of Lords, invited him to attend in the House, being sure that his presence in that day's debate would be of more service to America than his own, and later, in reply to a fling of Lord Sandwich at Franklin, he took occasion to declare "that if he were the first Minister of this country, and had the care of settling this momentous business, he should not be ashamed of publicly calling to his assistance a person so perfectly acquainted with the whole of American affairs as the gentleman alluded to, and so injuriously reflected on: one, whom all Europe held in high estimation for his knowledge and wisdom, and ranked with our

Boyles and Newtons; who was an honor not to the English nation only, but to human nature."

Franklin continued his efforts at conciliation as long as he remained in London. He actually advised Massachusetts to pay for the tea which had been destroyed, for which again he was rudely blamed by the leaders in Boston. He even offered, without orders to do so, at his own risk, and without knowing whether his action would be sustained at home, to pay the whole damage of destroying the tea in Boston, provided the Acts against that Province were repealed, and to his last hour in London he labored without ceasing to heal the growing breach. Hostile critics have insinuated doubts of his sincerity in all his efforts for peace and union, but the evidence of his fidelity is overwhelming.

Speaking of Franklin in London from 1764 to 1774, *The Encyclopædia Britannica* says, "He remitted no effort to find some middle ground of conciliation. . . . With a social influence never possessed probably by any other American representative at the English Court he would doubtless have prevented the final alienation of the Colonies, if such a result under the circumstances had been possible. But it was not."

Let me cite another witness out of a host that might be called: the *Annual Register* for 1790 announcing Franklin's death says "Previous to this period (the affair at the Cockpit) it is a testimony to truth and bare justice to his memory to observe that he used his utmost endeavor to

prevent a breach between Great Britain and America."

Dr. Priestley, who spent with him the whole of his last day in England, says of the conversation, "The unity of the British Empire in all its parts was a favorite idea of his. He used to compare it to a beautiful china vase, which if ever broken could never be put together again, and so great an admirer was he of the British Constitution that he said he saw no inconvenience from its being extended over a great part of the globe."

Professor Tyler, in his Literary History of the American Revolution, describes Franklin at the date of the Battle of Lexington as "a man who having been resident in England during the previous ten years had there put all his genius, all his energy of heart and will, all his tact and shrewdness, all his powers of fascination, into the effort to keep the peace between these two kindred peoples, to save from disruption their glorious and already planetary empire, and especially to avert the very appeal to force that had at last been made."

But Franklin's efforts were of no avail. His mission of mediation and conciliation had failed, his dream of an imperial and perpetual union of England and the Colonies, as an Empire, one and inseparable, had vanished. The measures taken on both sides rendered any reconciliation impossible, and in March, 1775, he sailed for home, to throw in his lot with his own countrymen — arriving at Philadelphia two weeks after they had

drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard, and the Battle of Lexington had begun the actual War of Independence.

I have now brought Franklin to the great parting of the ways, to the point where he ceased to be a British subject and became an American citizen, bound now to secure and maintain the cause of the Colonies with all his might, and as loyally as he had thus far sought to reconcile the Colonies and the Mother Country.

I may not on this occasion pursue further the narrative of his life, except to indicate how clearly it displayed his astounding abilities and capacity for public service, his enlightened patriotism and his rare devotion to duty. No sooner had he arrived in Philadelphia after his ten years' absence than his fellow citizens deeming him more than ever the indispensable man, made him a member of the Continental Congress, where he was one of the Committee of five appointed by the Congress to prepare the famous Declaration of Independence, the other four members being Jefferson, John Adams, Sherman, and Livingston. The declaration drawn by Jefferson was only slightly amended by Franklin, who signed it with the other members of Congress. It will presently be seen that eleven years afterwards he also signed the Constitution of the United States, which he had a hand in making. To have signed both of these historical instruments is equivalent in American history to the highest patent of nobility, only five others sharing the honor with Franklin.

But, in spite of the Declaration of Independence, the cause of the Colonists was in danger of becoming hardly better than hopeless unless they could secure foreign aid and alliances — and, who again but Franklin, the printer's apprentice, the veteran diplomatist, the scientist of world-wide fame, the accomplished linguist, the one man of letters whose works had been translated into many languages, and the most experienced man of affairs on the Continent, could be chosen for that arduous and delicate service? He was almost immediately dispatched to Paris for that purpose. Although he had now passed his seventieth year, and was already beginning to feel the infirmities of age, he consented to serve, and there for nine years more of exile he discharged his diplomatic duties with such wisdom, energy, pertinacity, and tact, and such marvellous shrewdness that the much needed supplies of money and military stores were from time to time obtained and the Colonists enabled to maintain their footing in the field. After the Battle of Saratoga, which has been justly described as one of the decisive battles of history, the Treaties of Commerce and Alliance were signed which powerfully assisted the Colonists to make good their Declaration.

This brilliant achievement was chiefly due to the skill and sagacity of Franklin, and it was largely aided by his marvellous personal popularity among all classes of the French people. His arrival in Paris was the signal for a tremendous outburst of popular enthusiasm, which met with

a hearty response throughout Europe, and it extended at once to the fashionable world and to the philosophers and scholars as well as to the populace.

"His virtues and renown," says Lacretelle, "negotiated for him; and before the second year of his mission had expired no one conceived it possible to refuse fleets and armies to the countrymen of Franklin."

The German, Schlosser, says: —

"Franklin's appearance in the Paris Salons, even before he began to negotiate was an event of great importance to the whole of Europe. Paris at that time set the fashion for the civilized world, and the admiration of Franklin carried to a degree approaching folly produced a remarkable effect on the fashionable circles of Paris. His dress, the simplicity of his external appearance, the friendly meekness of the old man, and the apparent humility of the Quaker procured for freedom a mass of votaries among the court circles . . ."

Pictures of him appeared in every window, and portraits, busts, medallions, medals, bearing his familiar head were in every house and every hand.

A French writer of the day, in his description of Franklin at the Court, says: "Franklin appeared at Court in the dress of an American cultivator. His straight unpowdered hair, his round hat, his brown coat formed a contrast with the laced and embroidered coats, and the powdered and perfumed heads of the courtiers of Ver-

sailles. This novelty turned the enthusiastic heads of the French women. Elegant entertainments were given to Dr. Franklin, who to the reputation of a philosopher added the patriotic virtues which had invested him with the noble character of an Apostle of Liberty. I was present at one of these entertainments when the most beautiful woman of three hundred was selected to place a crown of laurels upon the white head of the American philosopher, and two kisses upon his cheeks."

An American Ambassador of to-day still affects similar simplicity of dress by Act of Congress, but he would hardly know how to take such a reception as was thus accorded to the venerable philosopher.

But all this incense did not turn his head, which he kept level for the important affairs that he had in hand.

The amount and variety of business which fell upon him would have taxed the energies and capacity of the strongest man in middle life, and his health was already beginning to decline. He was obliged to act not only as Ambassador, but in lieu of a Board of War, Board of Treasury, Prize Court, Commissary of Prisoners, Consul, and dealer in cargoes which came from America. When Peace happily returned he took an active and important part in negotiating the final Treaty with Great Britain, and no one in the world rejoiced more heartily than he in the restoration of friendly relations between Great Britain and

the United States. It would be impossible to describe in anything short of a volume the activity, the brilliancy, and the success of his long years in Paris.

It was exceedingly fortunate for both countries at this time, that in spite of the intervening contest of so many years, Franklin in his important post of Ambassador in Paris still retained the esteem and friendship of many distinguished Englishmen whose acquaintance he had made during his fifteen years' residence in London. To two of these — Lord Shelburne and David Hartley — are posterity indebted for much of the wisdom, moderation and statesmanship on the part of Great Britain which contributed so largely to the Treaty of Peace. The first overtures came from Franklin to Lord Shelburne, afterwards the first Marquis of Lansdowne, Minister of the Colonies, who responded by sending a confidential mission to Franklin, with a letter which concluded, "I wish to retain the same simplicity and good faith which subsisted between us in transactions of less importance."

Presently Mr. Fox, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent Thomas Grenville over to represent him in the negotiations. Great Britain then had no diplomatic representative at the French Court, and so it came about, as Bancroft says, that Franklin, the Deputy Postmaster-General, who had been dismissed in disgrace in 1774, now as the envoy of the rebel Colonies at the request of Great Britain introduced the son of the author of the

Stamp Act to the representative of the Bourbon King.

The final negotiations of the Treaty on the part of England were entrusted to Franklin's lifelong friend, Mr. David Hartley, in whose apartments in the Hotel de York the definitive Treaty was signed. The credit and honor of the negotiation on the American side must be divided between Franklin, Jay, and Adams, to whom, for this great service, their countrymen owe an incalculable debt of gratitude.

At the signing of one of the Treaties in Paris Franklin is said to have worn the same old suit of spotted Manchester velvet which he had last worn on the fatal day at the Cockpit years before, when Wedderburn attacked him, showing how deeply, on that occasion, the iron had entered into his soul.

In view of his fifteen years' service in England and ten in France, of the immense obstacles and difficulties which he had to overcome, of the art and wisdom which he displayed and the incalculable value to the country of the Treaties which he negotiated, he still stands as by far the greatest of American diplomatists.

In his eightieth year, quite worn out by his labors and infirmities, he returned to his " dear Philadelphia " to spend the brief remnant of his days, as he hoped, in rest and retirement, but that was not to be. He was immediately elected President of Pennsylvania — an office of great responsibility, in which he continued for three years.

"I had not firmness enough," he said, "to resist the unanimous desire of my country folks; and I find myself harnessed again in their service for another year. They engrossed the prime of my life. They have eaten my flesh, and seem resolved now to pick my bones."

In 1787, at the age of 81, he was a member of that remarkable body of men who met to frame the Constitution of the United States, and it was most fortunate for the nation that he was so. In spite of his great age, he attended all the sessions five hours a day for four months, and took an active part in the discussions and committees. He it was who proposed the amendment by means of which the States came together to form a more perfect union. The small States had been contending most vehemently and persistently for absolute and entire equality. The large States were equally tenacious for a proportional representation. Agreement seemed impossible until Franklin in Committee proposed the simple compromise, which was adopted, and on which the Constitution has thus far safely rested, that in the Senate all States, great and small, should have an equal vote, but in the House of Representatives each State should have a representation proportioned to its population, and that all Bills to raise or expend money must originate there.

He gave close attention to all the great questions discussed in the Convention, which sat in secret session. As he was too infirm to stand and speak he was permitted to write out what he had to say

to be read for him by a fellow member, and so it came about that his are the only speeches reported entire, and they are very brief and pithy. On one occasion, when there seemed no prospect of any further progress because of hopeless dissensions, he moved that prayer be resorted to at each day's opening of the Convention as the only remedy.

"I have lived, Sir, a long time," he said, "and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth: that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable that an Empire can rise without His aid? We have been assured, Sir, in the sacred writings that 'except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.' I firmly believe this; and I also believe, that without His concurring aid we shall succeed in this political building no better than the building of Babel."

When the great Compact of Concessions and Compromises was finished it probably suited no member exactly, so much had each been obliged to yield of his own cherished opinions in the cause of harmony. But Franklin threw the whole weight of his influence in favor of an unconditional signature of the great instrument by all the delegates.

"I consent, Sir, to this Constitution," he said, "because I expect no better, and because I am not sure that it is not the best. The opinions I have had of its errors I sacrifice to the public good. I have never whispered a syllable of them abroad. Within these walls they were born and here they shall die."

He carried his point and all the members signed.

It can hardly be doubted that it was the combined personal weight and influence of Washington and Franklin that prevailed with the people in all the thirteen States in favor of the adoption of the famous Constitution, which they had done so much to devise and perfect.

He lived to see Washington, who had been his close friend and fellow laborer since the days of the Braddock disaster, elected unanimously the first President of the United States, and to see the new Nation, which he had been so potent to create, fairly launched upon its great career. He lived long enough to see the youthful Hamilton at the age of thirty-two installed as Secretary of the Treasury, and to read the first report of that marvellous genius on the Public Credit of the newborn Nation. His last public act only twenty-four days before his death, was a powerful appeal for the abolition of slavery, full of his old wisdom, wit, and satire, and of the spirit which animated the sublime proclamation of Lincoln three quarters of a century later. And then at last, utterly worn out by his long years of public service, but rejoicing in their grand result, he "wrapped the drapery of his couch about him and lay down to pleasant dreams."

His grateful country honors his memory and cherishes his evergrowing fame as one of its noblest treasures, and transmits from generation to generation the story of his matchless services. His autobiography, written near the end of his

wonderful career, is valued by all readers of the English language as one of the most fascinating contributions to its literature. And the lessons of honesty, temperance, thrift, industry, and economy, which he inculcated and practised with such brilliant success in his own person, have been of priceless value to his countrymen, and contributed very largely to their social, material, and intellectual well-being. So that, taking him for all in all, by general consent they class him with Washington and Hamilton and Lincoln in the list of illustrious Americans.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

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Inaugural address March 19th, 1904, before the Associated Societies of the University of Edinburgh.

REVOLUTIONARY periods produce, if they do not create, men of genius whom the exigencies of the times demand. Whether they are bred out of the conditions which create the Revolution, or always exist in every community, waiting for the supreme summons to call them forth, seems little to the purpose to inquire. The appointed hour strikes and the man appears.

Napoleon, the most consummate individual force in modern history, evolved out of years of terror and anarchy to rescue a great nation from chaos, will occur to every one as the most striking example. Lincoln, of happier destiny, rising above the bloody carnage of civil war to save his divided Country, by striking the shackles from four millions of slaves, and so converting the doubtful war for Empire into a sublime and triumphant contest for Freedom, seems to have been providentially created for that awful crisis. Going back to the very beginning of our young Republic when, after all hope of conciliation with the Mother Country was abandoned, the Continental Congress appointed Washington as the Commander-in-Chief of the American Army, to

withstand the overwhelming power of the mightiest of nations, and by his matchless patience, skill, and valor, to achieve the Independence of the Colonies, they appear to have found and selected the one man in all history best qualified for that most critical task.

In the subsequent making of the new nation, which the success of Washington and his companions-in-arms at last rendered possible, there appeared a considerable body of statesmen, trained in political discussion, tried by seven years of war, aroused by the four years of anarchy that succeeded, whose combined wisdom and foresight framed the Constitution of the United States, and set in motion the Government which it called into being, in a way that to-day challenges the admiration and approval of all thinking men. Foremost among these in intellectual brilliancy, individual force, constructive capacity, and personal influence was Alexander Hamilton, to whose character and achievements I would briefly invite your attention.

Just a hundred years ago, in the full career and triumph of vigorous middle life, he was wantonly slain in a duel that was forced upon him, and which he accepted in the spirit of false chivalry that then prevailed; but the work of his hands and his brain has all the time been growing and his fame has steadily advanced, until to-day he stands, as I think, next to Washington and Franklin among the celebrated Founders of the American Republic. At last even fiction has been

busy with his name, as if by a sort of mystical birth a miraculous genius had been created to be a conqueror among the men of his time. But truth is stranger than fiction, and the plain facts of his life constitute a romance almost as thrilling and fascinating as the pen of the novelist has ever painted.

I shall not attempt a biography of this extraordinary man — only a brief series of biographs, rapidly shifting, within the limits of the prescribed hour. Nor shall I try to solve the mysterious problem of his birth and pedigree. We know that he was born in the little West India island of Nevis, and that his father was a Scotch merchant who soon fell into bankruptcy, and had little part in his training. His mother was a brilliant Creole lady of Huguenot descent, noted for her beauty and wit, who died in his early childhood. Whatever their own misfortunes, their union was blest by the birth of this son, whose nature combined the national characteristics of both most felicitously blended — a keen and powerful intellect, of marvellous precocity, a tropical and fiery energy which sustained a soaring ambition, and an endless and untiring capacity for labor.

His early training and education were most accidental and desultory, and at the age of twelve he found himself working for his daily bread as clerk in a local counting house. But his talents were not to be thus hidden under a bushel. They were discovered and known to a few friends of

his family, who provided the means for sending him to New York to be educated in a way worthy of his high promise — and so he was rescued from the threatened doom of obscurity in a remote corner of the world, and transferred to what was soon to be the theatre of great events, a fit arena for the exercise of his marvellous faculties.

At King's College, known to-day as Columbia University, he more than made up for all past deficiencies by intense application and prodigious labor, and, at the same time, he studied the course of passing events, quite as ardently as the prescribed curriculum. It was a day of stirring action; the prelude of a historic political drama. The quarrel between the American Colonies and the Mother Country was reaching its crisis. The destruction of the taxed tea in Boston Harbor had been quickly followed by the Act of Parliament closing the Port of Boston, and the other punitive measures designed to bring to terms the rebellious State of Massachusetts. These measures had the directly contrary effect, to rouse and unite all the Colonies in a determined rally to the defence of their distressed brethren in Boston. New York alone held back; her assembly controlled by the Tories and by the home Government, declined to send delegates to the first Continental Congress, and the patriots, as we now justly call them, convened a great meeting in the fields near the City to give voice to the popular sentiments. It was the first opportunity for Hamilton, a stripling in the middle of his eight-

eenth year, and he seized it with startling avidity. A handsome youth of comely figure and of classical countenance, intensely absorbed in the question of the hour, he listened in the crowd with breathless attention, and as the meeting drew towards its close, leaving untouched the thoughts that were burning within him for utterance, he mounted the platform amid the inquiring glances of its occupants, who wondered who this bold young stranger might be. He proceeded at first with faltering voice, but with ever growing courage and ardor to address the excited audience, who soon recognized him with shouts as "the Collegian! the Collegian!" and listened with constantly increasing attention and delight to his bold and eloquent exposition of the rights and grievances of the Colonies, of which he had made a special study. When that meeting adjourned, the young West Indian, utterly obscure and unknown before, was head and shoulders above his fellows, already famous, and marked as a future leader of the Colonial Cause.

From this time he lost no opportunity to hold and increase the advantage he had gained, and to impress himself upon the anxious and interested community. In the following year he wrote and published anonymously two political tracts: "A full Vindication of the Congress" and "The Farmer Refuted," dealing with the great questions of the day, and in reply to a distinguished Tory pamphleteer, to whom he administered telling blows and a signal defeat. His style was so

clear and forcible, his grasp of the principles involved so comprehensive, and his modes of thought so mature, that the pamphlets were attributed to various members of the Colonial party, most eminent for wisdom, experience and commanding authority. When it came out that they were really the work of young Hamilton who had so recently made the famous speech at the meeting in the fields, the impression of that first performance was greatly strengthened, and men's minds turned to him as a leader already. These papers showed much knowledge of history and of the true principles of Colonial Government, and are worth reading to-day by the students of political science.

The actual outbreak of hostilities in 1775 found him already a devoted student of the military art, and the Captain of an Artillery Company, which he drilled with such success as soon to attract the attention of leading generals to his capacity in this new direction. Before long he came within the observation of Washington himself, who made him one of his own Aides-de-Camp, his Private Secretary, and a member of his military family, and so for the four years from March, 1777, to February, 1781, which covered a very decisive period of our great struggle, he was in daily and hourly contact with Washington as the most trusted member of his staff.

I know of nothing more ennobling, more inspiring, more precious for an ambitious and aspiring youth, in the formative and still plastic

period of life from twenty to twenty-four, than such constant and intimate personal association with a truly great man; and when the young man was the ablest of his time, and his master the greatest man of the age, perhaps of many ages, the conjunction was supremely fortunate, and here Hamilton acquired a training, discipline, and education, such as no University could ever give. He was in close touch with every important event of the period. He enjoyed the entire confidence and shared in large measure the designs, anxieties, and hopes of his great master, and especially his broad, comprehensive, and far-seeing view of the future of the Colonies in the event of success.

We may not linger on his military record, which was highly creditable. One incident of it cannot be omitted. He was on the spot at the time of Arnold's treasonable attempt to surrender West Point, and took part in the hopeless pursuit. He was brought into close contact with that accomplished soldier John André, the unfortunate victim of Arnold's perfidy, and exhibited the most touching and tender sympathy with his unhappy fate, laboring in vain to the last moment to mitigate the dread severity of his sentence. At the time of his death Hamilton wrote of him: "Among the extraordinary circumstances that attended him, in the midst of his enemies, he died universally esteemed and universally regretted," a sentiment echoed by many of Hamilton's countrymen to-day at the sight of his tomb in West-

minster Abbey, where he sleeps among brave and great Englishmen. His latest biographer well says: "A sadder tragedy was never enacted, but it was inevitable, and no reproach rests upon any person concerned except Arnold." André displayed the truly chivalric spirit of self-sacrifice in the message that he sent in his last hours through Hamilton, that even in the presence of death, he could not bear the thought, that his beloved Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry Clinton, to whom he was bound by every obligation and tie of affection, should reproach himself, or that others should reproach him on the supposition of his having conceived himself obliged by Clinton's instructions to run the fatal risk he did.

Hamilton's close connection with Washington came to an abrupt and untimely end. Like his great chief he was a man of towering passion, generally held under strict control, but on one unhappy occasion the sorely tried commander administered a sharp reproof for some real or supposed delinquency, which the inflammable temper of the subordinate resented, and on the spot he resigned his appointment, declining the courteous overtures of Washington to re-enter his personal service. But he continued in the army and served with distinction to the end of the war, conducting with great gallantry and success one of the principal assaults at Yorktown, which won him conspicuous honor. Nothing shows more grandly the superior magnanimity of Washington than his treatment of Hamilton after the ill-judged con-

duct of the latter at the time of their quarrel. He had thoroughly studied the masterly character and great qualities of the young man, who was less than half his own age at the time, and had learned to rely upon him with absolute trust, which he continued ever afterwards to do, looking always to him more than to any other for political counsel and support, in all the great duties and responsibilities which were heaped upon him.

And now the war which had lasted for seven years was over. The Independence of the United States was achieved. But never was a great nation, with boundless resources and possibilities of wealth and power, in such a hopeless and helpless condition — and all for the want of a strong and stable Government, fit to command obedience at home and confidence and respect abroad. The loose-jointed and inefficient Confederation of the States, which had held together under the pressure of war, and had managed to conduct it to a triumphant issue, was found when peace returned to be little better than no Government at all. It was represented by a Congress of delegates without definite powers, without an Executive, without a Judiciary, and without authority to collect a dollar of taxes or raise a single soldier. It could only make requests of the States, each one of which might at its pleasure or convenience disregard the demands of their common agent.

For the five years that preceded the adoption

of the Federal Constitution the whole country was drifting surely and swiftly towards anarchy. The thirteen States freed from foreign dominion claimed, and began to exercise, each an independent Sovereignty, levying duties against each other and in many ways interfering with each other's trade. European nations finding that Congress had no power to protect American trade, proceeded to impose fatal restrictions upon it. They also refused to enter into treaties with the United States because they could not tell whether they were dealing with thirteen nations or with one. This only was sure, that Congress could carry no treaty into effect. Commerce was completely paralyzed. Paper money had done its worst and most perfect work by driving specie out of the country, and then had itself become worthless. The people, impoverished by long years of war, were subjected to cruel sufferings, and were taking the law into their own hands, closing the courts by mob violence, and at times defying all constituted authority. American ships were being burned by Barbary pirates, and their crews sold into slavery, for the want of a Government that commanded respect on the high seas.

"It is clear to me as A, B, C," said Washington, who, from his retirement at Mount Vernon, watched the course of affairs with the utmost anxiety, "that an extension of Federal Powers would make us one of the most happy, wealthy, respectable, and powerful nations that ever in-

habited the terrestrial globe. Without them we shall soon be everything that is the direct reverse. I predict the worst consequences from a half-starved, limping Government, always moving upon crutches and tottering at every step." And as yet the States and State Governments, jealous of each other and of any central authority, hesitated and refused to confer any adequate power upon Congress, which remained without the means of paying even the interest on the loans due to its generous allies, and bankruptcy, public and private, threatened to fall like a blight on the whole land. The national resources were ample, but there was no power to call them into action, and American credit was dead.

Meanwhile Hamilton had married the daughter of General Schuyler, of New York, and had vastly bettered his position by this alliance with one of the oldest and most distinguished families of the country. He had studied law, and had been called to the Bar, always in America the recognized nursery of Statesmen. With his known abilities, and aided by the personal distinction he had already acquired, he was making rapid advancement in his chosen profession and in civil life, where his courage was as conspicuous as it had been in the field. A signal instance of this occurred in his early professional career. The legislature had passed some severe laws against those who had remained loyal to the British Crown, among others a law, giving a right of action to those whose property, abandoned by its

owners, had been in the occupation of loyalists during the war, under the authority of the British Commander. A great part of the city of New York had been so occupied for many years. Under this statute suit was brought by a widow, who had been ruined by the war, against a rich merchant who had occupied her house during British domination, and Hamilton, amidst the most tumultuous clamor for the widow's cause, took a brief for the defence, and threw himself into it with all the ardor and ability at his command. He placed his case on the broad ground of public law and the faith of Treaties, and fairly persuaded the conscience of the Court, against the tremendous weight of popular pressure, to set the Act aside. In spite of the temporary odium which this manly act brought upon him, his forensic triumph placed him in the front rank of the profession — and there he remained to the end of his life.

But no other interests could keep his active and patriotic mind from political thought, and from the day of his first association with Washington they had both been of but one opinion, that nothing but a powerful Federal Government, with all the sanction of National Sovereignty, could save the afflicted people from the fearful dangers that menaced them. He lost no chance by voice, pen or personal influence to inculcate this fundamental truth, and many a fierce battle he fought in defence of it.

At last his great opportunity came, in 1786, when Virginia called a Conference of her sister

States to meet at Annapolis to consider the commercial situation. Only five of the thirteen States responded, but Hamilton with a single colleague was there from New York, and, although the immediate object of the Conference failed, the real business done by this little band of delegates was to issue an address written by Hamilton, and sent to all the States, strongly setting forth the existing mischiefs and the only remedy. It urged that Commissioners be appointed by all the States to meet in Convention at Philadelphia in May, 1787, "to devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary, to render the Constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union."

Thus this young and untried Statesman, in his thirtieth year, was foremost in the propitious movement for assembling that remarkable body of men, who met at Philadelphia to rescue their country from the terrible and almost hopeless evils by which it was encompassed, and who accomplished this great result by framing and adopting the Constitution of the United States. It has been well described as "one of the most memorable assemblies the world has ever seen," and of its work Mr. Gladstone, a not too friendly critic, has said that "as the British Constitution is the most subtle organism which has proceeded from progressive history, so the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

The States responded to the call with varying degrees of alacrity. Virginia led the way by appointing delegates with Washington at their head, which in itself went far to secure the success of the movement. After a severe struggle, which was carried in favor of the Convention by his own overwhelming energy and persuasive power, Hamilton was returned by the reluctant State of New York. But he was handicapped by two colleagues who were hostile to the whole purpose of the Convention, and as the vote there was by States, each State casting a single vote by the majority of its delegates, his voting power was nullified.

Although Hamilton's work in the Convention was limited, it was of a most interesting and important character. He formulated and proposed a scheme of Government, which in many details was followed in the plan actually adopted, but which in two important features differed radically from that.

He proposed a scheme much more closely assimilated to the British Constitution, which he declared to be the best model then in existence. In the place of a Constitutional Monarchy he would have had a republic indeed, but an aristocratic republic based upon the property of the country, and would have made it supreme over the States to the extent of a practical extinction of their Sovereignty. The course of events since the close of the war had given him a great distrust of pure democracy, and a settled conviction that a contin-

uance of the independent Sovereignty of the States, to whose jealousy he attributed a large share of the impending disasters, would be inconsistent with the creation of a strong central Government adequate to maintain the dignity and safety of the nation.

To this end he proposed that the Congress should have power to pass any laws it thought necessary for the general welfare, that the President, who was to have an absolute veto, and the members of the Senate, should be elected by the votes of property owners only, and should hold their offices for life or during good behavior, being removable only by conviction upon an impeachment for some crime or misdemeanor, and that the governor of each State should be appointed under the authority of the United States, and have a veto upon all laws passed by the State.

This novel scheme he supported in a powerful address. With all his logic and eloquence, however, he won no support for the special features of his plan. Probably he did not expect to do so, but undoubtedly his earnest appeal did much to confirm his associates in the determination to develope a strong and stable Executive and a Federal Government which, in all affairs that concerned the common welfare, should be actually independent of the State Governments. His scheme would, however, have annihilated the Sovereignty of the States, the preservation of which within its proper limits was an object very precious in the sight of the Convention. The

moral effect upon his associates of his appeal for a strong and self-sufficient government was undoubtedly great. Indeed, Guizot says of him that, "there is not in the Constitution of the United States an element of order, of force, of duration, which he did not powerfully contribute to introduce into it, and to cause to predominate." And the Cambridge History of the United States, the latest authority, truly says, "Every great undertaking has its master-spirit, the Master-Spirit of the Convention that framed the Constitution and of all that led to it was Alexander Hamilton. There were other strong leaders who played a greater part in the long series of debates, but Hamilton, present or absent, was chief among them. Hamilton had already thought out the idea of a Constitution, clear, definite, and strong to withstand domestic feuds and foreign greed. He had thought out, and he laid before the Convention, a form of instrument which he considered better than any likely to be adopted; but if he knew that the mark was too high, it was still to be the mark. A Nation was to be created and established, created of jarring Commonwealths, and established on the highest level of right."

The Constitution as it was adopted by the Convention, has safely stood the test of a century, and was the happy result of four months' hot discussions behind closed doors, and of successive great compromises between sections, States and individuals. Hamilton, in his enthusiasm for a powerful centralized Government which should

dominate the States, had pronounced the Executive too weak, and had declared that two sovereignties could not possibly co-exist within the same limits; but the combined wisdom of the whole body proved greater than that of any one member. The Executive created by the Constitution has proved to be strong enough for every emergency, and exercises in times of foreign war or civil strife an actual power quite as great and efficient as that of Kings or Emperors in monarchical states. A dual sovereignty was successfully established, by means of which the Federal Government within its sphere is supreme and absolute in all Federal matters, and for those purposes able to reach by its own arm without aid or interference from the States every man, every dollar, and every foot of soil within the wide domains of the Republic, leaving each State still supreme, still vested with complete and perfect dominion over all matters domestic within its boundaries. Harmony between the two independent sovereignties is absolutely secured by the judicial power vested in the United States Supreme Court, to keep each within its proper orbit by declaring void, in cases properly brought before it, all State Laws which invade the federal jurisdiction, and all Acts of Congress which trespass upon the Constitutional rights of the States.

But Hamilton, like Washington and Franklin, and all the other great patriots of the Convention, subordinated his own views to the united judgment of his colleagues, and accepted the result as

the best that could possibly be got. Although as he said, "No man's views were more remote from the plan than his own were known to be, yet it was not possible to deliberate between anarchy and convulsion on one side, and the chance of good to be expected from the plan on the other." Franklin urged the same thing with equal earnestness, and with success. So that when the doors were opened, and the members reappeared with the instrument which was the result of their long labors, signed by all, it appeared as their unanimous act, supported by the combined influence and character of all, while all the heated and angry discussions and differences out of which it had grown were left behind and not disclosed for half-a-century afterwards, all the members having been sworn to secrecy as to what took place within the walls of Independence Hall.

It was one thing, however, for the Convention to frame and recommend the Constitution, and quite another to secure its adoption by the people of the several States, which were called upon to surrender so much of their power to the Federal Government for the general welfare of all, for it was to be the Act of the people of the whole United States. Its preamble, which is said to have been written by Hamilton and is the best statement of the objects of free government to be found in any language, declares "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common

defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

It was in this business of convincing and converting a reluctant people to the acceptance and support of the new plan of Government, that Hamilton performed those prodigious services, and displayed that surpassing genius, which established his fame as the greatest Constitutional Lawyer and Statesman of that eventful era, and commanded the everlasting gratitude of his country and of mankind. For to him, more than to any other one man, we owe the grand result of the adoption of the Constitution, which brought our young Republic into being with organized powers and internal resources, that have enabled her to take the place which she now occupies in the family of nations. The immense weight of character of Washington and Franklin inclined public opinion to the support of the measure which they had helped to frame, but the voice and pen of Hamilton carried home to the hearts and consciences of the people the conviction that the adoption of the new Constitution was necessary to their welfare.

When the plan of Government proposed by the Convention was announced, the general sentiment of the people was against it, and a hostile majority in many of the States was outspoken. It encountered the fixed prejudice in favor of State Sovereignty and against any external government, as it

was called, which in the case of British dominion had proved so unpopular and disastrous. Men's passions as well as their interests were appealed to, and a bitter and violent anti-federalist party was organized in every State, pledged to defeat the Constitution by all honorable means if possible. New York, though only the fourth or fifth State in wealth and population, was by its position, which completely separated New England from the Southern States, absolutely indispensable to the new Union, and her people, led by a Governor "with consummate talents for popularity," were more emphatically opposed to it than those of any other State.

But the choice was between the new Constitution and anarchy, and Hamilton conceived the idea of a regularly organized campaign of education, to open the minds and to instruct the consciences of the people on the great question which involved their rights and liberties as well as their interests. This should be done by a consecutive and incessant series of papers addressed to the people, presenting the general constitutional principles involved, discussing and analyzing the new Constitution, chapter by chapter, clause by clause, and pointing out, as to each, the defects of the existing confederation, the consequent evils and mischiefs under which they were laboring, and the remedies offered by the work of the Convention.

He enlisted the willing and sympathetic aid of Madison, who had had much more to do than him-

self with the framing of the plan proposed, and of Jay, the acknowledged leader among American jurists, who afterwards became the first Chief Justice of the United States. They contributed many of the papers, and their reputation, character, and experience gave great authority to the work, but a major portion of it was indisputably from Hamilton's own pen. The combined result is known as "The Federalist," the book which is thought by many competent authorities to be the greatest book that America has given to the world, and which certainly ranks very high among works on constitutional law and principles the world over. It remains to this day the highest authority in the Courts of the United States, and of other countries, on the construction and meaning of the Constitution, and the intentions of its framers, and should be read by every student who wishes to understand the principles which lie at the foundation of popular government.

Hamilton wrote the first paper by the light of a candle, while floating down from Albany to New York in the cabin of the primitive passenger schooner of those days, and the other numbers followed in quick succession, one in every two or three days. They covered the whole field of constitutional and public law, and the meaning and purpose of every clause was made clear to the people. The writers spoke from full minds and full hearts. The papers were widely circulated and universally read, and are pronounced by competent historians to have had more to do than

any other cause with convincing the people throughout the country that their safety and welfare depended upon the adoption of the new form of Government proposed. For clear and cogent reasoning, plainness and simplicity of thought, earnestness of purpose, and purity of diction and literary style, I know of no American book that surpasses "The Federalist," and no student of constitutional or public law can do without it. The chief credit of the work, for its origin, its successful prosecution and its great merit may, without any detraction from the valuable contribution of his associates, be awarded to Hamilton.

The Edinburgh Review, No. 24, says: — "The Federalist, written principally by Hamilton, exhibits an extent and precision of information, a profundity of research, and an accurateness of understanding, which would have done honor to the most illustrious statesmen of ancient or modern times."

But New York, his own State, still hung back, and New York was still the pivot on which the whole of this political enterprise turned, and there the chances seemed desperate indeed. The Opposition Party supported by the most formidable interests were in a large majority, and determined to defeat it at all hazards. They preferred that New York should stand alone, and enjoy, to the exclusion of its sister States, the immense advantages of its splendid harbor and its prospective commerce. Hamilton and Jay and their associates succeeded in forcing the calling of a Conven-

tion to consider the matter. But when it met forty-six out of the sixty-five members present were pronounced anti-federalists, with the stalwart and hard-headed Governor at their head, and in the chair. Hamilton, leading the forlornly hopeless minority of nineteen, had an opportunity to show his points as a debater, and after a protracted struggle he won a parliamentary victory such as has rarely been heard of in the annals of any legislative body. Day after day and week after week, he maintained the contest almost single handed. He was superbly equipped for such a hand-to-hand fight. His experience with Washington, and subsequently in Congress, in the two Conventions, in the legislature and at the Bar, his strong and penetrating intellect, his fiery energy and absolute conviction, made him an irresistible champion at close quarters. Clearness, force, and earnestness were the characteristics of his eloquence; he had an answer for every objection, and made every blow tell. And at last he carried the enemy's works by assault, just as he had stormed the battery at Yorktown.

The leader of the Governor's party ran up the white flag, and announced on the floor of the House that Hamilton's arguments had convinced him, and the victory was won — the Convention ratifying the Constitution by a vote of 30 to 27. Thus New York was the eleventh State to ratify, nine only being required. By this time the whole country was convinced, for nothing succeeds like success. Rejoicing was universal, and Hamilton's

name was on every tongue. In the great procession in New York to celebrate the glad event, the great Ship of State, the emblematic Federal Ship, which was drawn through the streets, was emblazoned all over with the name of " Hamilton " in his honor. This universal recognition of his service and triumph must have made him the happiest and proudest man in America, and he was still but thirty years old.

Great as was the service rendered by Hamilton in securing the adoption of the Constitution, it was, however, equalled in importance by the part which he took in organizing the new Government under it, in restoring the public credit, and in devising the policy which was to shape the future fortunes of the infant nation, and here he developed a versatility of talent, and a constructive capacity, almost without a precedent.

The first Presidential election had resulted in the unanimous election of Washington, " first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." No greater responsibility ever rested upon any ruler than that of organizing the machinery of the new administration, so as to secure success to the novel experiment of free government. Of all the famous statesmen in the land, whom should he choose as his most confidential adviser and chief assistant in this arduous work? Whom but the still youthful Hamilton, who, at the age of thirty-two, was made the first Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, with the approval of the whole country, for his

thorough fitness in character, capacity, power of sustained labor and generous enthusiasm were universally recognized. The appointment was more than justified, for he still stands by far our greatest Finance Minister, with whom we may safely challenge any comparison. It was not mere language of rhetoric, but literal truth when Webster, borrowing the imagery of two famous miracles, said of him, "He smote the rock of our national resources and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth. He touched the dead corpse of public credit and it sprang upon its feet."

The labors of Hercules were light in comparison with those that fell upon the new Secretary. He came to an empty Treasury, with literally not a penny in the till. There was no credit, public or private. There were as yet no laws providing for the exercise of the powers conferred by the Constitution. There had been no attempt as yet to develope the resources of the country, which have since proved to be so inexhaustible — business was at a standstill waiting upon events. Above all, and casting a heavy cloud, a fearful incubus upon the hopes and prospects of the new Government just struggling into life, there was a vast national debt of eighty million dollars — an insignificant sum to our modern view, but then of appalling dimensions, and there were no means at hand with which to pay the principal or even the interest upon it.

After organizing the necessary financial machinery of the Treasury, in a way that has lasted

to the present time, he produced in rapid succession his three able reports on Public Credit, on National Banking and on Manufactures, and thereby laid the deep and solid foundations, upon which the public credit, the financial system, and the public and private prosperity of the United States were built up. They contained the germs from which have been developed our distinctive American method of government, which still bears the stamp of Hamilton's strong intellect and personality.

He based his scheme of public credit upon absolute good faith, upon a punctual performance of every obligation, on which alone he insisted the prosperity of the Nation could safely rest. "States, like individuals," he said, "who respect their engagements are respected and trusted, while the reverse is true of those who pursue an opposite conduct." And he stated the object of his policy to be: "To justify and preserve the confidence of the most enlightened friends of good government; to promote the increasing respectability of the American name; to answer the calls of justice; to restore landed property to its due value; to furnish new resources both to agriculture and commerce; to cement more closely the Union of the States; to add to their security against foreign attack; to establish public order on the basis of an upright and liberal policy."

For these sacred purposes he insisted upon sufficient revenue by taxation to provide for the prompt payment of all public obligations, and to

furnish an adequate currency — upon a Funding System which should embrace the whole of the existing debt, recognized as to be paid in full however depreciated, to the lawful holders — and upon the assumption by the Nation, of all the debts that had been incurred by the States in carrying on the war which brought the Nation into being.

These important measures were not carried without violent and formidable opposition, and required the exertion by Hamilton of all his power and influence, both as Minister and politician. The public debt, which was large, and had been accumulating from the beginning of the War of the Revolution, was of three classes. First, that which was due to Foreign Nations — to France, Spain, and Holland, for loans and advances. This it was generally agreed must be paid in full, principal and interest. Second, that which was due to domestic creditors, represented by bills or obligations issued from time to time, and which had greatly depreciated, as the paper money had done. So that the first taker, who had received it from the Government at its face value, had parted with it at a discount, and the last taker, who was the present holder, had paid but a small percentage of its par value. As to these there was a violent controversy, the opponents of Hamilton's plan insisting that the present holder should be paid only what he gave for it, and any further payments go to the previous holders. But Hamilton stoutly and successfully insisted

that as the agreement of the Government in each case had been to pay the whole amount to the first taker or his assignees, the credit of the Nation required that this agreement should be kept in the strictest good faith and the actual holder receive the whole.

On the question of the assumption by the new Nation of the outstanding debts of the States there was a still more bitter controversy, which involved the jealousy existing between the States; — but Hamilton, who believed that the stability of the new Government depended very much upon enlisting the capital and the capitalists of the country in its support, insisted successfully upon Assumption, and by this and the previous measure he rallied to the support of the Government those who, as he believed, could render it the most efficient aid and influence, and established its credit on a lasting foundation. Its new funded debt, into which these obligations were converted, rose to par and more, and was always met at maturity.

In his report on Banking, which was a very great and powerful constitutional and legal argument, he laid the foundations upon which have safely rested all the plans of National Banks that have from time to time been adopted by Congress, and our present excellent system of National Banks, so stable and uniform in its operation in all parts of the Union. Here, too, he rendered a still more broad and signal service, in first setting forth in clear and convincing terms the theory

of implied powers and resulting powers vested in the National Government under the Constitution — the theory that every power clearly given involves necessarily the right in Congress to use every necessary and proper means to carry that power into execution. In other words, he was the author of the doctrine of liberal construction, which has enabled the Supreme Court from time to time to adopt and apply the general provisions of the Constitution, as its framers intended, to successive national exigencies as they arose, whereby that venerated instrument has grown with the growth of the nation, instead of being left behind and discarded as an outworn garment rent asunder at every seam.

His report on Manufactures, the third of these great State papers, is still more remarkable. Taking the ground that Manufactures were as essential to the prosperity of the whole country as Commerce and Agriculture, and should therefore be equally encouraged and developed, he presents the whole subject in a broad, comprehensive and truly National spirit, setting forth both sides of the question as clearly and strongly as possible, and evincing a deep knowledge of the principles of political economy and of the science of taxation. This paper did not, like the others that have been referred to, result in immediate legislation, but it was in pursuance of his great National purpose that the United States should as rapidly as possible make themselves independent of all foreign control or interference, and it

is so full and perfect a presentation of the general subject, that it will always be worthy of careful study, from whatever side the question may be approached. It is safe to say that not much has been added to the argument on either side since this Report was published.

These great subjects, important and fundamental as they were, were not the only ones that engaged the attention of the youthful Secretary at the outset of the new Government. Congress, earnestly devoted to the study of the legislation necessary for calling into effective action the vast and varied powers conferred by the Constitution, was continually calling upon him for advice and reports, which he gave with wonderful ease and versatility, on a great variety of subjects, within and without his own department. He was also during the first five years of the Administration of Washington, the chief political adviser of the President, who relied upon him in every emergency, and whose arms he upheld, on every great question of public policy.

The aim of Hamilton's efforts from first to last was to create a strong and independent Government, in full possession of all the powers that by reasonable construction it could derive from the Constitution; to establish the credit of the Nation upon the impregnable basis of absolute good faith, to develope all its resources as rapidly as possible, and to hold fast to its support, through a strong spirit of Nationality, all the strongest men and most powerful interests in the

land. By his untiring labors, and by the commanding influence which he acquired and exercised to these noble ends, he stamped the impress of his character and personality upon the National history, and is entitled to a full share of that glory which mankind awards to the founders of great States. As the Republic which he helped so efficiently to bring into being and to place upon its feet, expands and grows, his fame grows with it, and will last as long as the Nation endures. His name will be always identified with the strength, the splendor, and the purity of Washington's Administration.

Senator Lodge, his biographer, has truly said of him: "As time has gone on, Hamilton's fame has grown, and he stands to-day as the most brilliant statesman we have produced. His constructive mind and far reaching intellect are visible in every part of our system of government which is the best and noblest monument of his genius."

It is quite impossible to form a just estimate of the value and efficiency of Hamilton's ideas and labors in promoting the adoption of the Constitution, and in the legislation of Washington's Administration, without taking a general view of the condition of affairs at the close of that period, and contrasting it with that which existed, as we have seen, at its commencement.

Instead of a powerless league of States, held together by Articles of Confederation which have been aptly described as "a rope of sand," a

young, vigorous and ambitious Nation had been created, with a Government fully organized, armed and equipped for all national purposes, with the most illustrious man in the world at its head, whose character commanded universal respect, confidence and admiration, at home and abroad. In its hands had been placed full and adequate powers of taxation, by which every form of property, occupation, and industry could be reached, and compelled to contribute to all those purposes which involved the general welfare of the people of all the States; to internal administration and the support of a judicial establishment; to foreign relations; to the building of a Navy; to the organizing and equipment of Armies; to the regulation of Commerce; and to carrying out the provisions of Treaties. The Nation could now, if need be, without aid from the States, draw into its military service every able-bodied man within the bounds of the Republic.

It left untouched all those powers of the States, which were essential to the proper conduct of domestic affairs, and at the same time effectually restrained them from the exercise of those which would interfere with the independence and efficiency of the general government. They could no longer levy imposts upon imports from abroad or from any of the other States. The citizens of each State were secured the enjoyment of all the privileges and immunities of citizens in every other State. Absolute freedom of trade within

the Republic was established, which, in connection with the unlimited power to regulate Commerce with foreign nations and the absolute control of all external relations, has vastly contributed to the general prosperity of the Nation. The States were also prohibited from passing any laws impairing the obligation of contracts, a provision which gave great security and stability both to property and business. It put an end for ever to interference between creditor and debtor, of which some of the States had been guilty, and has done much to maintain the sanctity of contracts and of property.

With such a Government the new born Nation could meet and confront other Nations on equal terms. It could make Treaties, with the assurance to itself and to the other party that the terms of the Treaty would be faithfully executed. It was no longer looked upon with contempt, or even with indifference, by other Powers as it had been before, but took its place as an equal in the family of Nations.

The people gradually learned to outgrow the feeling of pupilage and dependence upon a foreign nation and on foreign opinion, which had characterized them as Colonists. In its place they acquired a new spirit of Nationality, proud of their new liberties and rejoicing in the strength of a Union, which, as they believed, was destined to be perpetual. Confidence and Commerce revived, and the busy hum of Industry was everywhere heard. An ample revenue flowed into the public

coffers, and the public funds and the national currency were placed upon a firm basis. The great national domain extending from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi was thrown open to immigration, and a resistless and incessant tide of life began to flow through every mountain pass and along every river bed, eager to possess and subdue the forest and the wilderness, and convert them into one great garden of plenty.

I doubt whether in such narrow limits of time, a change in the form of Government and the adoption of a new system of Administration ever wrought such magical effects. A wholly new people entered upon the great and untried experiment of Self Government, with the most buoyant hopes and sanguine expectations.

An opportunity soon came for testing the power of the new Government against domestic turbulence and disorder, and of trying the working order of the new machinery in critical emergencies. The breaking out of the French Revolution created, as might have been expected, a tremendous sensation and universal enthusiasm throughout the United States, in which doubtless Washington and Hamilton at first sympathized, welcoming the hope of constitutional liberty arising upon the ruins of despotism. But when the true nature and inevitable tendency of that awful conflict revealed itself; "when," as Mr. Lodge finely says, "reform became revolution, revolution anarchy, and redress revenge — when hot-blooded killings in the streets changed to cold-

blooded massacre and cowardly murder in the palace and the prison, culminating at last in the execution of the King and the daily slaughter of the guillotine — then public opinion in America shifted," and the conservative elements of society, headed by Washington and Hamilton, raised formidable and successful barriers against the tide of Jacobin sentiment, which even the Atlantic was not wide enough to keep out of the land.

When the news arrived of the outbreak of war between England and France, the President, on a careful study of the situation, declared for absolute and strict neutrality between the contending Powers, and determined that our previous relations of alliance and friendship with France should not entangle us in any way in the seething turmoil of French madness. He issued his famous proclamation of neutrality, treating both parties to the war on terms of strict and impartial equality, which established for the future our uniform relation to all foreign wars.

This proclamation of neutrality was, under the circumstances, a magnificent exhibition by Washington of those great qualities of wisdom, firmness and integrity of mind for which he was so remarkable. The drift of popular feeling in America was strongly on the side of France. We were bound to her by ties of gratitude for the timely, efficient, and generous aid she had then so recently given us in the very crisis of our fate, and which had enabled us so soon to secure our independence. We were also bound by the terms

of the defensive Treaty of Alliance, which Franklin had won so much fame by negotiating. On the other hand there still lingered in the hearts of the people much of that bitterness of feeling against England, which the recent contest had necessarily excited, and which new causes of difference arising since the war had not permitted to subside. After patiently hearing all sides, Washington concluded that our National interests and National honor alike required us to abstain from all part in the war, and the Proclamation went forth in the most emphatic terms.

When a representative of the Convention arrived as Minister from the French Republic, and endeavored by all sorts of intrigue and plot to embroil us — when Jacobin clubs were established, and a great party was formed in support of so-called French principles, Washington enforced to the utmost of his ability the doctrine of the proclamation, counteracting and defeating all the dangerous efforts of this turbulent emissary and his American supporters, and finally insisted peremptorily upon his recall. The performances of this emissary of the French Revolutionary Government, from the day he landed on our shores until his recall, were most remarkable. Landing at Charleston on the very day of the issue of the proclamation, he persistently defied its provisions. He issued commissions and fitted out privateers to prey upon British commerce, appointed consuls and instructed them to act as prize courts on our neutral territory, and made triumphal processions

through the States. He made our soil the base of warlike operations, and did his best to drag us into the war, and, as a last act of temerity, he had the assurance to appeal from the President to the People, whom he had done his best to convert into French Propagandists. During this stirring period Hamilton, in the Cabinet and the press, rallied mightily to the support of his chief, and impressed himself and his ideas most indelibly, not only upon the great Federalist party, of which he was the acknowledged chief, but upon the future policy of the country for generations.

Another occasion arose to test the firmness and efficiency of the new Government. When the growing necessities of the organized service called for enlarged taxation, and an increased excise was imposed by Congress upon distilled spirits, what was known as the "Whiskey Rebellion" broke out in the mountains of Pennsylvania, in armed resistance to the process and officers of the United States — and a wide-spread indulgence in disorder and outrage. Great forces of armed men in open defiance of the law occupied broad tracts of country, and the practical question arose, whether we had a government capable of dealing with such a crisis or not. This was the first time that the new Government had had to resort to force against popular violence, and it was now to be determined whether it had the power and the nerve to enforce obedience to its own laws.

Washington, firmly supported by his stalwart Secretary, who liked nothing better than a fight,

soon called an army of fifteen thousand men into the field which marched under the general direction of Hamilton, into the disturbed districts, put a speedy end to what threatened to be an obstinate revolution, and set an example of how the Federal Government could and should deal with insurrection. All this was in striking contrast to what had happened in Massachusetts just before the Federal Convention met, when a debtors' rebellion had taken possession of the State and closed all the Courts of Justice, and the Government of the Confederation had not been able to lift a finger to aid the State in its suppression.

I shall not ask you to follow Hamilton through the ten years that remained to him after his retirement from public life, which was compelled by the necessity of providing for a large and growing family. His ardent interest and inspiring influence in public affairs never slackened. Although no longer in the Cabinet, he was frequently called upon by Washington for advice and assistance, and freely gave his opinion and counsel on important public questions. He was the acknowledged head of the historic Federal Party, to whose continual conflicts, alike in victory and defeat, his fiery zeal and passionate nature lent always a glowing heat. Apart from these excursions into politics, his later years were spent in the enjoyment of a most felicitous domestic life, and in the honorable pursuit in a large way of the profession which he loved and ennobled, and in which he was easily foremost.

It is in that honorable calling which he always magnified and adorned, that I love to contemplate him, devoting the marvellous force of his character, intellect, and will to the service of the community, in those great forensic contests to which he was naturally called. Chancellor Kent, whose authority on that subject is conclusive, says of him: "Among his brethren Hamilton was indisputably pre-eminent. This was universally conceded. He rose at once to the loftiest heights of professional eminence by his profound penetration, his power of analysis, the comprehensive grasp and strength of his understanding, and the firmness, frankness and integrity of his character." The same qualities it will be noted made him so nearly supreme in political and public life.

I would not have you believe that I am presenting Hamilton as a hero without spot or blemish. He had many and glaring faults, but they were mostly the result of that passionate and impetuous nature which was a striking feature of his personality. An intrigue in private life, which his enemies seized upon as a means of defaming his public character, by the pretence that he had spent upon its object public moneys, compelled him to an elaborate vindication of his official conduct. He not only silenced but convinced his slanderers, although at the expense of a humiliating confession on his own part which marred the sanctity of his private life. His political conflicts, even within the party of which he was the acknowledged head, were often marked

by fierce outbreaks of temper and vindictive passion. These involved him in personal quarrels which sadly interfered with the plans and the policy of the Federalists, and one of which directly led to their overthrow. But his commanding talents and weight of character were so transcendent, his genius for public service so unfailing, his political vision so clear, and his devotion to public duty so constant, that even these great faults have hardly diminished the lustre of his fame, or the gratitude of his countrymen for his matchless services in laying the foundations of the Republic. He scorned all mercenary ideas and motives, all low ambitions, and his integrity was so absolute, and his patriotism so unselfish and exalted, that his name and career are a cherished national treasure.

The tragical death of Hamilton has done much to embalm his name in the memory of his countrymen. Great as we have seen him to be, he was not great enough to rise above the barbarous and brutal theory and practice of that age, which sanctioned and compelled a resort to the duel as the honorable mode of settling personal disputes, but to which the cruel sacrifice of his precious life put an end, at least in the Northern States. Two years before, he had followed to the grave his eldest son, a victim to the same senseless code of honor, and now, still in the very prime of his own life, at the age of forty-seven, in the midst of a great career of usefulness, crowned with all the laurels which his grateful country could bestow,

he was called to meet his own untimely fate. He accepted the challenge, forced upon him by his most dangerous and unscrupulous political adversary, with whom he had had many bitter contests, and who was at last determined to be rid of him. One glorious July morning, on the heights of Weehawken, overlooking the Hudson and in sight of his own happy home in New York — whose idol he had been — they met for the last and mortal combat. Hamilton fell fatally wounded at the first shot of his adversary, having fired his own pistol in the air, and so unhappily and unworthily ended the life of one of the noblest, manliest and most useful men of whom we have any record — the trusted friend and companion of Washington — and one of the best gifts of God to the Nation which they labored together to found.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON

RALPH WALDO EMERSON

Address at the Passmore Edwards Institute, June 15th, 1903.

WE come to-day, in these congenial surroundings of the Passmore Edwards Settlement, to unveil the bust of a great American, certainly one of the greatest of them all, Ralph Waldo Emerson, the centenary of whose birth, on the 25th of May last, was celebrated with reverence and enthusiasm throughout his own country and in many distant lands. Hundreds of speakers and writers have been discussing his merits, and I have absolutely nothing new to offer on a subject so freshly familiar. I would much rather set him before you in his own words than in any of my own.

His claims to distinction as poet, philosopher and prophet have been warmly advanced by his disciples, and as freely contested by the critics, but whatever controversy there is about him seems to me to be really a war of words and a contest of definitions. It is generally agreed that he was one of the great intellectual lights of the nineteenth century; that, as a result of his forty years of wide and almost universal reading, profound contemplation, brilliant writing, and enlarged discourse, he came to be recognized as one

of the wisest of men, a great and efficient teacher of his own generation, and of that which came after it, and far in advance of his age on many important questions.

He certainly had a vivid and fertile imagination, a wonderful power of idealizing the facts of nature and the events of life, and a quick sympathy with all that concerned and interested humanity, which enabled him to produce some poems which still live after half a century, and which are likely to find many readers in coming generations.

His neighbors assembled at Concord Bridge to celebrate the completion of the monument which marked the spot where the plain farmers of New England offered the first armed resistance to British troops. There bloodshed on both sides began the long conflict which divided the British Empire into two independent nations, — nations which now at last happily vie with each other in words and acts of mutual friendship, and in efforts to advance the best interests of mankind. In a single stanza he told the thrilling story in words that still echo like the sound of a trumpet:

> "By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
> Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
> Here once the embattled farmers stood,
> And fired the shot heard round the World."

Recalling his visit to Rome, and what he had seen of the work of Michael Angelo, as an architect, upon the great cathedral with its soaring

dome, he apostrophized architecture as the Divine Art, directly illuminated by the Spirit of God, in words that ought to be immortal: —

> " The hand that rounded Peter's Dome,
> And groined the aisles of Christian Rome,
> Wrought in a sad sincerity;
> Himself from God he could not free;
> He builded better than he knew:
> The conscious stone to beauty grew."

He had absolute faith in the close relation between the living God and the spirit of the individual man, and in the boundless possibilities of human nature as its direct result.

Listen to another single verse which ought to live as long as the language lasts, expressing this idea. He was showing how noble youth, brought up, it may be, in luxury and ease, in sport and idling, prove to be heroes when the trumpet sounds and their names are called; and turning their backs on all they have prized before, on home and love itself, risk life and limb and happiness to save or serve the cause of their country:

> " So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
> So near is God to man,
> When Duty whispers low ' Thou must,'
> The youth replies, ' I can.' "

Nor are these utterances isolated and exceptional in their style and character. Much of his

poetry breathes the same lofty spirit, the same living imagery. And sometimes he was master of a lighter vein, full of sparkling wit and genial fun.

Witness his fable of the quarrel between the squirrel and the mountain:

" The Mountain and the Squirrel had a quarrel,
And the former called the latter ' little Prig.'
Bun replied:
' You are doubtless very big,
But all sorts of things and weather
Must be taken in together
To make up a year
And a sphere,
And I think it no disgrace
To occupy my place.
If I'm not so large as you,
You are not so small as I,
And not half so spry.
I'll not deny you make
A very pretty squirrel track.
Talents differ: all is well and wisely put,
If I cannot carry forests on my back
Neither can you crack a nut.' "

Whether he is justly to be called a great poet or is destined to an immortality of centuries or not, he gave us much delightful poetry, and the lovers of poetry, who form but a small part of the readers of the English language, will always find much to cherish in what he has written.

You all know the main facts of his simple and uneventful life. He was a Puritan of the Puri-

tans, or if there be such a thing as a Puritan of the Puritans of the Puritans, he was exactly that. He was descended from a long line of dissenting clergymen, beginning with the original immigrant who had fled from persecution at the hands of Archbishop Laud. Being silenced for Non-conformity he had escaped to New England, and founded a church at Concord, the little village fifteen miles from Boston, which was to be Emerson's home for life.

Graduating at Harvard College at the age of 18, Emerson studied theology, and, under the influence of Dr. Channing, he became a Unitarian minister, a Protestant of the Protestants, and soon found himself the pastor of a church in Boston; but even the gentle trammels of that mild communion could not long contain his independent soul. He gave up the sacred office, and all the difficulties which it involved for his gentle spirit, and retired to his ancestral village of Concord, where for forty years he devoted himself to plain living and high thinking, to deep reading and writing and lecturing, by which he obtained his livelihood, for he had been born and bred in poverty and received nothing by inheritance.

To two successive generations of his countrymen, in his lectures, addresses and published writings, he gave, from time to time, the rich fruits of his reading, study, and contemplation. He read everything good, but Shakespeare, Plato, Plutarch, Goethe, Bacon, Swedenborg and Montaigne seem to have been his favorite authors.

He remembered what he read as few people do, and made notes of whatever impressed him, which furnished the material for those copious and apt illustrations of which his works are full.

Though he severed his connection with the churches he certainly had a religion of his own which exalted and spiritualized him. Dr. Holmes, who knew him well and is one of his most appreciative biographers, says: "His creed was a brief one, but he carried it everywhere with him. In all he did, in all he said, and, so far as all outward signs could show, in all his thoughts, the indwelling spirit was his light and guide: through all nature he looked up to Nature's God; and if he did not worship the man Christ Jesus as the Churches of Christendom have done, he followed His footsteps so nearly that our good Methodist, Father Taylor, spoke of him as more like Christ than any man he had known."

The great influence which, by his wisdom and spotless life, he rapidly acquired and maintained to the end, certainly had a marked effect in mitigating the rigid tone of dogmatism from which he revolted. Dean Stanley, on his return from America, is said to have reported that "religion had there passed through an evolution from Edwards to Emerson, and that the genial atmosphere which Emerson had done so much to promote is shared by all the churches equally."

The same Father Taylor, a great apostle of Methodism, was so impressed by his pure and exalted spirit, that when some of his Methodist

friends took him to task for maintaining his friendship with Emerson, on the ground that, being a Unitarian, he must go to a place not to be mentioned in good society, he replied, " It does look so, but I am sure of one thing; if Emerson does go to — that place — he will change the climate there, and emigration will set that way."

Of his prose writings, how is it possible to say more than was said by Matthew Arnold, who judged him very critically, and cannot be said to have exaggerated anything in his favor? What he says is this:

" As Wordsworth's poetry is in my judgment the most important work done in verse in our language during the present century " (the nineteenth, of course), " so Emerson's Essays are, I think, the most important work done in prose."

His busy brain was never still, his driving pen was never idle, his eloquent voice, in lectures, and discourses, profound, entertaining and instructive, was heard by his countrymen with ever increasing delight and satisfaction. Self-reliance, absolute trust in his own conscience and convictions, and a fearless following of these in conduct and action, wherever they might lead, were the constant guides of his own life; and he never failed to urge upon his hearers and readers to pursue the same path.

He appealed always to the higher, the highest, motives, instincts, passions of our nature, moral, intellectual and spiritual, and was never content

to discover and repeat what other men had said and thought on the subject in hand, except to illustrate his own thoughts and conclusions, which he evolved fearlessly from his own inner light, to which alone he looked for inspiration. The wide scope of subjects which he treated embraced the whole range of human life, conduct and aspirations. His mission was to arouse, to stimulate and elevate the public and private life of America to a higher and nobler plane.

He began to answer Sydney Smith's cynical question " In the four quarters of the globe who reads an American book? " and led the way in rescuing American literature from the sluggish and torpid stream in which it had long been confined. He lived to see it flowing in a broad and ever widening current, which refreshed and animated the whole of our national life. It was his peculiar gift and function to stimulate and inspire those who labored with him or followed after him in the field of letters, and before he died the real question came to be " In the four quarters of the globe, who does not read American books and recognize American ideas? "

As time went on his books found many sympathetic and admiring readers among thoughtful men and women in England, and in foreign countries into whose many languages they were translated, and the Emerson cult became very widely spread. Herman Grimm wrote to him from Berlin: " Whenever I think of America I think of you," and I have no doubt that to many serious

and earnest souls in many lands, the name of our young Republic suggests first the image of this profound thinker and stimulating teacher.

I confess that of all the authors with whom I have become familiar, I turn always first to him for light and leading, and find him more suggestive, more instructive, more awakening than any other; there are but few subjects dealing with the conduct of life, or the duties of man, or the study of nature, of which he has not treated more or less directly; and anyone who has to take up such a subject for the first time, cannot begin better than by turning to his pages to see what he has said about it.

President Eliot, of Harvard, in a carefully prepared essay, quite worthy of Emerson himself, read in Boston on the centennial of his birth, has demonstrated that Mr. Emerson was far in advance of his time on many moral, social, and political questions, and that he indicated, with singular sagacity and foresight, the course of their future development — as the same actually occurred — so that although the ranks of the prophets are closed against him, we may well describe him as the forerunner of American thought.

He rarely took part in any controversies, although many were raised in the path of his advancing progress, but left them to be fought out by others, while he kept the even tenor of his way, thinking and teaching still. He cherished with unfaltering hope and confidence the noblest aspirations for his country, and uniformly pre-

dicted its ultimate success and triumph in those better things that constitute true civilization; but he never hesitated to scourge his countrymen for their shortcomings, which stood in the way of their reaching the final goal of his high ideal. This he could always do with effect and authority, because he stood aside from politics, and because his courage and virtue commanded universal reverence.

He lent the generous and telling influence of his character and opinion to the cause of reform, but sometimes turned rather a cold shoulder to practical reformers, whose rough and tumble methods were at variance with his gentle and retiring spirit. In great crises, however, his soul was stirred, and his voice rang out like a megaphone across the land.

In his address at Concord in commemoration of Emancipation in the West Indies he concluded with these prophetic words: —

"The sentiment of Right, once very low and indistinct, but ever more articulate because it is the voice of the Universe, pronounces Freedom. The Power that built this fabric of things affirms it in the heart; and in the history of the First of August has made a sign to the ages, of His will."

Within twenty years from that utterance, Lincoln had signed the proclamation which freed all the slaves in America, and the vast Empire of Russia had no longer a slave within its borders.

When Sumner was struck down in the Senate for words spoken in debate, he declared:

"The events of the last few years and months and days have taught us the lessons of centuries. I think we must get rid of slavery or we must get rid of freedom."

When the attempt was made to force slavery upon Kansas by armed might, he said:

"I wish we could stop every man who is about to leave the country. Send home every one who is abroad lest they should find no country to return to. Come home and stay at home while there is a country to save. When it is lost, it will be time enough for any who are luckless enough to remain alive, to gather up their clothes and depart to some land where Freedom exists."

When the Proclamation of Emancipation was actually signed, he said:

"The first condition of success is secured in putting ourselves right. We have recovered ourselves from our false position and planted ourselves on a law of Nature."

> "If that fail,
> The pillared firmament is rottenness,
> And Earth's base built on stubble."

"The Government has assured itself of the best constituency in the world. Every spark of intellect, every virtuous feeling, every religious heart, every man of honor, every poet, every philosopher, the generosity of

the cities, the health of the country, the strong arms of the mechanic, the endurance of farmers, the passionate conscience of women, the sympathy of distant nations, all rally to its support."

When Lincoln was struck down he said of him:

"By his courage, his justice, his even temper, his fertile counsel, his humanity, he stood a heroic figure in the centre of a heroic epoch. He is the true history of the American people in his time. Step by step he walked before them; slow with their slowness; quickening his march by theirs; the true representative of this continent, an entirely public man, father of his country; the pulse of twenty millions throbbing in his heart, the thought of their minds articulated by his tongue. Only Washington can compare with him in fortune."

Scouted at first as a mystic and a dreamer, Ralph Waldo Emerson lived long enough to receive the general homage of the confidence and affection of his countrymen. They honored him for his dauntless courage, his sublime devotion to what he believed to be the truth and the right, his clear and controlling conscience, his wisdom of which they garnered the ripe fruits, and his life-long endeavor to elevate the standard of their literature, morals, and manners. They admired his unfaltering patriotism, and his ardent sympathy with human nature, which no time could limit and no continent could bound. They loved him for his sweet and simple nature and life, his serene and spotless character, his modest and un-

assuming manners, and, most of all, because he loved them, and spent his life in thinking and working for their highest welfare. Heart and soul he was full of sunshine; he shed its beams all about him and saw and revealed only the bright side.

I rejoice that this striking image of him has found an abiding-place in this noble building, the home and centre of a great and good work. I congratulate Mr. Passmore Edwards and Mrs. Humphry Ward on acquiring this bust as a fitting ornament of this Institute, on the shelves of whose Library his books will be found. I am sure that they will reach many readers, and know that they will exercise on their minds nothing but a wholesome, elevating and inspiring influence. It all depends on what you read for. If you read only for dissipation of thought, or for oblivious languor, don't touch Emerson. But if you seek for ideas and information, for light and leading, for real inspiration, for love of country, and faith in God and faith in man, you will find them all in him.

Three years ago, when "The Hall of Fame for Great Americans" was established in the University of New York by the lavish generosity of a citizen, the name of Emerson came out from the public election, confirmed by the votes of the council, as the eighth among famous native-born Americans of all the past. The seven who preceded him were Washington, Lincoln, Webster, Franklin, Grant, Marshall, Jefferson, all men of

affairs, of the greatest affairs. But Emerson, as a pure man of letters, stood first in the hearts of his countrymen, and there we may be content to leave him to the judgment of posterity.

THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

ITS PLACE IN THE CONSTITUTION

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Address delivered before the Political and Social Education League, May 13th, 1903.

I INVITE your attention to a brief study of the Supreme Court of the United States, a cardinal feature of our Federal representative Government, balancing and harmonizing all its parts, a tribunal which has received the general approval and admiration of foreign Jurists and Statesmen, and commands the universal respect and confidence of the people for whom it administers justice.

The Federal Convention of 1787, which framed our Constitution and created this unique Tribunal, was composed mostly of members of the legal profession, which has always in America been the chief nursery of Statesmen; but Washington, the soldier, presided, and Franklin, the philosopher, advised at every step. The members of the Convention were undoubtedly chosen from the best qualified men that the country could furnish for the momentous work which was set before them, and their merits have been so universally recognized that I need not repeat any of

the emphatic tributes which many great Englishmen have paid to the results of their labors.

Their work was finished in four months' secret session at Philadelphia, but most of them had been in training for it through twenty long years of trial and trouble.

From 1765, the time of the passage of the Stamp Act, which was passed through both Houses of Parliament with little opposition, the Colonists, and especially the lawyers of the Colonies, had been careful and earnest students of the principles of free government.

In 1774, having exhausted in vain all appeals to King and Parliament for a redress of their grievances, they sent delegates to a Continental Congress to deliberate on the state of public affairs, and in this Congress, which lasted for seven years, many of the future framers of the Constitution who were members of it found a most instructive school of statesmanship, and constantly devoted themselves to the social and political education of the Colonists in matters of government and of public law and popular rights.

In 1776, as the representatives of the United States of America in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions, they did, " in the name and by the authority of the good people of the Colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are, and of right ought to be, absolved from all alle-

giance to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." They declared "that as free and independent States they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do," and for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, they mutually pledged to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

From the hour of the Declaration, the men who made it, and all the other Statesmen of the Colonies, had to give renewed and constant study to the whole science of government.

As they proved able by force of arms to make good this declaration, the United Colonies became from its date a new Nation, over which Congress, by general consent and acquiescence, exercised the powers of a general Government, for all the purposes of the very serious exigency which had called it into existence. But it was a Government by Congress only, with feeble and undefined powers, without an Executive and without a Judiciary. While the war lasted it barely sufficed, and afforded daily object lessons of its own defects, and of what was required for a better Government when better days should come.

The several individual States, being absolved from the Royal Charters under which they had before practically managed their own affairs,

adopted written Constitutions, based in each case upon the Sovereignty of the People, to take the place of the former dominion of Parliament. An epoch of Constitution making set in, during which the principles of representative popular government were discussed and understood. Virginia, the largest of the States, the home of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, who were to be four out of the first five Presidents of the United States, took a leading part. New Hampshire had already framed a temporary form of government "during," as they said, "the unhappy and unnatural contest with Great Britain." South Carolina and New Jersey had followed, but in the case of the former it was expressly declared that the Constitution established was "established until an accommodation of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and America could be obtained."

Massachusetts, in 1780, with the utmost pains and deliberation prepared and adopted a complete Constitution, in which the powers of Government were carefully distributed, with the solemn declaration that neither the legislative, executive or judicial department should ever exercise the powers of either of the others "to the end that it may be a government of laws and not of men." During the war the other colonies were engaged in the same business of founding States upon the principles of civil and religious liberty, embodied in written Constitutions. Rhode Island alone, founded by Roger Williams, the great apostle of

Toleration, having received from Charles the Second in 1663 a Royal Charter, subsisted under it until 1842 without adopting any written Constitution.

But it was not only in the individual States that the Framers of our Constitution were in all those years gathering knowledge and experience in the science of popular government. From the very date of the Declaration, Congress, conscious of the inadequacy of its powers, even for the purposes of carrying on war and conducting foreign affairs, entered upon the novel and difficult task of arranging a scheme which should enable it more efficiently to conduct those affairs which were of common interest to all the people of the thirteen States, and which no one of them, nor all of them individually, could control. After two years they adopted and submitted to the States what they styled "Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union," but it was not until March, 1781, that the powers of Congress were enlarged by the final ratification of these articles by the delegates of all the States.

But this attempted bond of union — a crude experiment in the formation of a National Government — proved little better than a rope of sand, and utterly failed to accomplish the purposes intended. While the war lasted the tremendous pressure of their common danger and common distress kept the States together, and made them obedient to the requests of Congress which really had no power to command, but as soon as

this external pressure was taken off, they fell apart, and each asserted its independent sovereignty.

So jealous were the States, which had just escaped from the dominion of one central power, of anything which should seem to create dominion over them in another, that although upon paper they had laid many restraints upon their own action, and conferred upon Congress extensive powers over their Federal affairs, they had carefully refrained from giving any sanction to those powers, and from granting to Congress the means of compelling obedience to its enactments. The Articles provided for no Federal Executive and for no Judiciary Department, although they authorized Congress to provide for the settlement of boundary disputes between States, and to appoint Courts of prize and for the trial of piracies and felonies on the high seas. Moreover, Congress could not of its own authority raise a dollar of money for revenue, or a single man to recruit its armies. It could only make requisitions for men and money upon individual States, which met them or not as they found it convenient. Nor could it proceed at all in the exercise of the principal powers nominally conferred upon it until nine States assented to the same. One of the leading writers of the time thus describes the powers of Congress under this Confederation: —

"By this political compact the United States in Congress assembled have exclusive power for the following

purposes, without being able to execute one of them. They may make and conclude Treaties, but can only recommend the observance of them. They may appoint Ambassadors, but cannot defray even the expense of their tables. They may borrow money in their own name on the faith of the Union, but cannot pay a dollar. They may coin money, but they cannot purchase an ounce of bullion. They may make war and determine what number of troops are necessary, but cannot raise a single soldier. In short, they may declare everything, and do nothing."

Judge Story says that, strong as this language is, it has no coloring beyond what the naked truth would justify, and even Washington himself wrote: "The Confederation appears to me to be little more than a shadow without the substance, and Congress a nugatory body, their ordinances being little attended to."

Of course, under such a system our national affairs drifted steadily and rapidly from bad to worse. Interest on the public debt could not be paid, nor the ordinary expenses of government be provided for. The treaties which had been made could not be carried out, and foreign nations would not deal in the way of new treaties with the envoys of a body, which had no head and no power to perform what they should agree to in its behalf. Our external commerce was at the mercy of foreign nations, whose laws contrived for its destruction, Congress could do nothing to counteract. And worst of all, our domestic commerce, which between all the citizens of one nation should

be free and equal, was at the mercy of the caprice or selfishness of each individual State. There were many boundary disputes between States which threatened civil war. Federal laws were a dead letter, without Federal Courts to expound and define their true meaning and operation, or an Executive to see that they were properly executed. There was a general failure as yet to realize in actual enjoyment the advantages we had won by seven years of war, and everything seemed drifting towards bankruptcy, disunion, and anarchy.

But these very defects of the Confederation, and the evils which resulted from them, demanded the constant exercise of the best brains in all the States to understand and to remedy them, and opened a new school for all our Statesmen in the study of Constitutional Government. When Washington had laid down his sword and surrendered his commission to Congress, after the signing of the Treaty of Peace which acknowledged the independence of the United States, he exhorted his countrymen by all they held dear to provide for the establishment of a strong and stable government as the only hope of retaining the liberties they had won; and from that hour until the Federal Constitution was made and ratified, he and Hamilton, and Franklin and Madison, and all the other great Statesmen who made it or helped to secure its adoption, were engaged in the constant study of the principles of free government, and in enforcing them upon the attention

of their fellow citizens, so that they came to the performance of their great duties in the Federal Convention as graduates of the best practical school of Constitutional Law that the world has ever seen.

Their allotted task was to create a National Government which should reach, for its own proper purposes, by its own power, every man and every foot of territory in the whole United States, and should at the same time leave untouched and undiminished the complete control by each State of all its internal and domestic affairs; — which should be entirely adequate without aid from the States, to govern the people effectively in all matters that involved the general interests of all, to deal with foreign nations with the whole power and resources of the entire people behind it, in all the exigencies of Peace and War, and to accomplish all this with the least possible vesting of arbitrary power in any department or officer of the new Government.

They differed in opinion and sentiment on many points, but all agreed in a supreme dread of arbitrary power, whether it should be exercised by the Executive, the Legislative or the Judiciary Department, whether by a single man, or by a majority of all, for they considered that the majority without any restrictions upon its power might become quite as dangerous as any other despot. They did not believe with my Lord Coke that absolute despotic power must in all governments reside somewhere. They carried this dis-

trust of arbitrary power so far that they actually tied the hands of the people, whom they regarded as the source of all political power, and deprived them of the right to consider any amendment of the Constitution, until it should be proposed by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses of Congress or by a Convention called by Congress, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the States, and deprived them of the power of voting directly upon any amendment, which could only be ratified by the Legislatures or Conventions of three-fourths of the States.

In other words, the People of the United States who ordained the Constitution, deprived themselves of the power to modify it by the direct vote of a majority or two-thirds or even three-quarters of their own number, whether that number should be three millions or eighty millions. They must act deliberately and indirectly through Congresses, Legislatures, and Conventions. Truly a rare instance of political self-restraint at the basis of free popular government.

One of the best definitions of the objects of such government is contained in the preamble of the Constitution: —

"We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

It was to " establish justice " for the people of the United States that the Federal Judiciary, with the Supreme Court as its head, was created. It forms the balance wheel by which the affairs of the Nation and its relation to the States are kept in working order, and is itself held in check by the power of the President to appoint its members as vacancies may occur, and by the power of Congress to impeach them for misconduct, to regulate the measure of its appellate jurisdiction, and to increase or diminish its numbers. The permanent stability of the judicial power is assured by its being imbedded in the Constitution, with a jurisdiction co-ordinate with that of the Executive and Legislative Departments, by the extreme difficulty in the way of any amendment that would impair it, and by the universal conviction which the experience of a century has produced, that its continued existence with the full enjoyment of its present functions is absolutely essential to the successful working of our scheme of popular representative government.

The great achievement of the framers of the Constitution was so to distribute the powers of government between the States and the Nation as to give the latter supreme control over all subjects that concerned the general interests of all, and reserve to each of the former exclusive control over local affairs which concerned only its own territory and people, and to do this in such a way that the State and Federal Administrations should not clash in actual operation.

They knew well the importance of a distribution of the powers of government between the three great departments. They created a Congress on which they conferred legislative powers over eighteen enumerated subjects, necessarily involving the general interests of the people of all the States and essential to National Sovereignty, including the levying and collection of taxes for Federal purposes, the borrowing of money, the regulation of commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, the coining of money, declaring war, raising and supporting armies, and maintaining a navy.

They placed such limits upon the exercise by Congress of legislative power as should prevent its interference with legitimate local administration by the States, or with the fundamental rights of the citizens, and put such prohibitions upon the legislative power of the States as should prevent their interference with the general powers and functions of the Federal Government.

They vested the executive power of the Federal Government in the President, who was made Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy and of the Militia of the States when called into the service of the United States. He was granted power to pardon offenders against the United States, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senate concur, to have a veto power over acts of Congress, which could be overridden only by a vote of two-thirds on reconsideration. He was also to nominate, with the advice and consent of

the Senate, Ambassadors, Judges, and all the principal officers of the United States, to recommend to the consideration of Congress such measures as he should judge necessary and proper, to commission all officers of the United States, and to take care that the laws should be faithfully executed.

And, finally, to secure the absolute supremacy of the Federal Government over all matters of Federal cognizance, it was expressly provided that " this Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be passed in pursuance thereof, and all Treaties made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges of every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." This making the Federal Constitution and Treaties made, and laws of Congress passed under its authority, the supreme law of the land is the key of our dual system of Government, as the omnipotence of Parliament is the key of the British Constitution. But the Federal Government, though supreme within the limits prescribed, is not omnipotent; it must keep within those limits.

By the 10th amendment, passed immediately after the adoption of the Constitution, to prevent Congress from meddling with the domestic concerns of the States, or exercising powers not granted to them, it was expressly provided that the powers not delegated to the United States by

the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the People.

Thus the people of the United States created for themselves two separate and distinct governments, each " of the people, by the people, and for the people," each independent and exclusive of the other within its own scope and sphere, and each able, without aid from the other, to reach for its own purposes, by its own authority, every person and every foot of land within its territory. Complex as it may appear to people living under other forms of government, this dual system has worked very simply, smoothly, and harmoniously from the beginning until now, except for the single occasion when the terrible question of slavery proved to be too much for all the Departments of Government combined, and could only be settled by our long years of Civil War.

But how has this marvellous result been accomplished? How has it been possible for these two Governments, each of prescribed and limited powers, and each department of both similarly defined, to act independently and at the same time harmoniously over the same people? By what magical force has each power, State and Federal, been kept within its own limits? What has prevented constant and hopeless conflict between State functions and officials, and Federal functions and officials, between State and Nation, and between State and State, originally thirteen in number and now forty-five? How has it been

possible to secure the due protection of the law to the citizens of one State in each of the other States, and the rights of aliens against local prejudice and discrimination in any State, and how has the faith of Treaties been preserved in every locality?

These, and a thousand other similar questions and doubts as to the successful working of our system, are answered by pointing to the Supreme Court created by the Constitution, and to the Federal Courts inferior to it created by Congress, in which the judicial power of the United States is vested, a power which, as I have said, is co-ordinate and co-extensive with the Executive and Legislative. Over whatever region Congress may attempt to legislate, or the President to execute its laws, there the judicial power extends, to pass, if need be, upon the legality of their acts and the validity of their laws. The Constitution, and each of its provisions, is supreme over President, Congress, Courts, and States, and the valid laws of Congress, and Treaties made under the authority of the United States, are the supreme law of the land for all its people, and for the Courts, Legislatures, and Governors of each State.

The Supreme Court is the final judge of the validity of all laws passed by Congress or by the Legislatures of each of the forty-five States, when brought to the test of the Constitution of the United States, and of the legality of all official acts when brought to the same test. It and the Federal Courts inferior to it furnish the vehicle

by which the judicial power of the United States is carried into the whole of its vast territory, to administer justice within the limits prescribed to it, to enforce the Federal laws and to punish offenders against them.

The third Article of the Constitution is marvellously brief and simple. The Judges, according to that good old rule which has worked so well in England since the days of William and Mary, are to hold their offices during good behavior, and can only be removed by impeachment, and their compensation shall not be diminished during their continuance in office. The Supreme Court has original jurisdiction only in cases affecting Ambassadors, Public Ministers, and Consuls, and in those in which a State shall be a party. The first branch of this original power has seldom been invoked, but over and over again a great State has been brought to its bar by another State to settle boundary disputes, always the most dangerous to the peace of adjoining States, and in each instance its decree has been submitted to with implicit obedience — a most unique judicial power, and a most convincing example to persuade all nations to settle these most perilous questions by arbitration.

It has been well said " that the provision that the judicial power created by the people shall be the arbiter between the States themselves, in all their controversies with each other, marks the highest level ever attained in the progress of representative government."

Tocqueville says: "In the nations of Europe the Courts of Justice are only called upon to try the controversies of private individuals, but the Supreme Court of the United States summons sovereign powers to its bar."

John Stuart Mill declares it to be "the first example of what is now one of the most prominent wants of civilized society, a real International Tribunal."

In all other matters the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court is only appellate. The judicial power extends only to cases as they arise between party and party, and in the Supreme Court as they come to it mostly by appeal from the inferior Federal Courts, or by writ of error to the State Courts.

The Courts of the United States exercise no supervision over, or interference with, the President or Congress, or the Legislatures of the States. They have no veto power. They do not lie in wait for Acts of Congress, to strangle them at their birth. They have no jurisdiction to pronounce any Statute, either of a State or of the United States, void because irreconcilable with the Constitution, except as they are called upon to adjudge the legal rights of litigants in actual controversies. They simply pass upon the rights of parties as they come before them, and if a provision of the Constitution, or of a Federal Statute, or a Treaty is invoked for or against a right claimed or denied, they interpret the Constitution, the Law, or the Treaty, and determine the right.

In this way, and in this way only, if an Act of Congress or of a State Legislature is claimed to be invalid, or an official Act is claimed to be illegal under the Constitution of the United States, and the decision of that question is vital and necessary to determine the rights of the parties, they perform the ordinary duty of interpretation, and declare the validity or invalidity of the Act, and so determine the right between the parties before them in that particular case, and for no other purpose, and this may happen months or years after the enactment of the Statute.

The Supreme Court will perform no duties except judicial duties. So, when in 1793 President Washington requested the opinions of the Judges on the construction of the Treaty with France of 1778, they declined to comply, and when an early Congress enacted that certain pension claims should be considered and passed upon by the Federal Courts, the Supreme Court upheld them in refusing to act under it, upon the ground that the power proposed to be conferred was not judicial power within the meaning of the Constitution. Nor will the Court give a hearing to a fictitious or collusive case, contrived to raise a question as to the validity of a Statute.

Keeping strictly within the limit prescribed to it of exercising only judicial power, the Federal Judiciary has steadily refrained from exercising any political power, which belongs exclusively to Congress and the President, and so it has been brought into no collision with the other depart-

ments. It will not even indulge in discussions, or express opinions upon purely political questions.

All attempts, for instance, to induce it to interfere either to restrain or compel the President in the exercise of his power to see that the laws are faithfully executed have failed. In the case of foreign nations, as well as in that of the Sovereign States of the Union, the Government acknowledged by the President, or by the President and Congress, is always recognized by the Supreme Court. In all such questions as are purely political it holds itself bound by the acts of the other departments.

So the question whether and upon what conditions aliens shall be expelled or excluded from the United States, belonging to the political departments of the Government, the Court refused to express any opinion upon the wisdom, the policy, or the justice of the measures enacted by Congress in the exercise of the powers confided to it by the Constitution over that subject. Thus it constantly sets the example to each of the other departments of the Government of minding its own business, and keeping strictly within its assigned province.

But, careful as the Judges are to confine the exercise of the Federal judicial power to cases as they arise, that power does extend to " all cases of law and equity arising under the Constitution, the laws of the United States, and Treaties made under their authority, to all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers

and Consuls, and to all cases of Admiralty and Maritime jurisdiction;" and whenever any such case does come before the Supreme Court it must take cognizance of it, and it cannot shrink, and never has shrunk, from determining the question of private right so arising. It is under these clauses that its unique and peculiar function of testing the validity of State Laws and Constitutions and of Federal Statutes, and the legality of the acts of State and Federal officers arises.

The remainder of the Federal judicial power depends wholly upon the character of the parties to the controversy. It extends "to controversies to which the United States shall be a party." This enables the Federal Courts to enforce the Acts of Congress, civil and criminal, against all persons within the realm; "to controversies between two or more States," the purpose of which I have already indicated, as making the Supreme Court the Arbitrator and Peacemaker between Sovereign States; to "controversies between a State and citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects." It was wisely concluded that in all such cases justice would be safer and surer, against State or local interest, prejudice or passion, in Courts representing and vested with the authority of the whole nation, than in the Courts of the State

of an interested party, and that foreigners especially should have the right to have their causes heard and decided by National Tribunals.

These clauses, which make jurisdiction dependent upon the citizenship or character of the parties, have been a prolific source of litigation in the Federal Courts, have opened to them the entire field of law and equity; have extended their adjudications to the whole body of jurisprudence, and have given to the decisions of the Supreme Court, by reason of the weight and force of character of the Court and its members, a commanding authority with the State Courts, and persuasive influence with foreign tribunals. But in this department of its functions the Supreme Court does not differ, in the scope of its powers and duties, from the Courts of last resort of other nations, and its distinctive and peculiar character is not involved.

The power of the Court to declare State and Federal Statutes, and the acts of the National and State Executive officers invalid, as being in violation of the Constitution of the United States, naturally attracts the attention of foreign observers.

In the one hundred and twelve years of its existence the Court has pronounced twenty-one Acts of Congress, and more than two hundred State Statutes, to be in conflict with the Federal Constitution, and therefore invalid, and in each instance there has been complete and peaceful acquiescence in the decision. So that instead

of being a disturbing element, the exercise of this power confirms the peaceful relations between the States and the Nation, and between the States as among themselves, protects foreign nations from the breach of Treaties, and conserves the rights of property and contract, and the fundamental rights of personal liberty.

I may not, perhaps, do better than to give you several examples of the exercise of this wholesome, beneficial, and altogether conservative power.

The Constitution provides that " no State shall pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts," and the aid of the Court has often been invoked for protection against the attempts of States to violate this prohibition.

The framers of the Constitution believed, and the people of the United States, in view of the successful operation of this prohibition for more than a century, believe that the States ought not to be permitted to intervene between the parties to a contract, to destroy or impair the binding force of terms by which they have agreed to be bound, and that such intervention is contrary to the principles of popular government.

It is true that in the days that tried men's souls before the adoption of the Federal Constitution many attempts had been made by States to intervene for this purpose, which doubtless led to the adoption of this clause.

Mr. Hamilton, in the " Federalist," classing such laws with Bills of Attainder and *Ex post*

facto laws, which are prohibited by the same clause, says: —

"Laws impairing the obligation of contracts are contrary to the first principles of the social compact, and to every principle of sound legislation. They are prohibited by the spirit and scope of the State Constitutions. Our own experience has taught us, nevertheless, that additional fences against these dangers ought not to be omitted. Very properly, therefore, have the Convention added this constitutional bulwark in favor of personal security and private rights. And I am much deceived if they have not, in so doing, as faithfully consulted the genuine sentiments as the undoubted interests of their constituents. The sober people of America are weary of the fluctuating policy which has directed the public councils. They have seen with regret and indignation that sudden changes and legislative interferences in cases affecting personal rights, become jobs in the hands of enterprising and influential speculators, and snares to the more industrious and less informed part of the community. They have seen, too, that one legislative interference is but the first link of a long chain of repetitions, every subsequent interference being naturally produced by the effects of the preceding. They very rightly infer, therefore, that some thorough reform is wanting which will banish speculations on public measures, inspire a general prudence and industry, and give a regular course to the business of Society."

In the celebrated Dartmouth College case the protection of this clause was invoked by the Trustees of the College, to recover its property from a person who held it for new Trustees under

the authority of a law of the State of New Hampshire.

In 1769, King George the Third by Royal Charter incorporated twelve persons, therein named as "The Trustees of Dartmouth College," granting to them and their successors the usual corporate privileges and powers, and authorizing the Trustees who were to govern the College to fill up all vacancies which may be created in their own body. The application by the Founder, who had already established the College, was for a Charter to incorporate a religious and literary institution, and stated that large contributions had been made for the object, which would be conferred upon the Corporation as soon as it was created, and on the faith of the Charter the property was conveyed to it. After the revolution, in 1816, the Legislature of New Hampshire passed an Act increasing the number of Trustees to twenty-one, giving the appointment of the additional members to the Governor of the State, and creating a Board of Overseers with power to inspect and control the most important acts of the Trustees.

Admitting that the provision of the Constitution embraced only contracts which respect property or some object of value, and which confer rights which may be asserted in a Court of Justice, and did not refer to grants of political power or to acts creating institutions to be employed in the administration of Government or of public property, or in which the State as a Government

was alone interested, the Court after most mature consideration reached the conclusion, that the Charter was a contract which secured to the Trustees the property and control of the College — a contract made upon valuable consideration — for the security and disposition of property, and on the faith of which real and personal property had been conveyed to the Institution, and therefore a contract, the obligation of which could not be impaired without a violation of the Constitution of the United States.

It held that the Statute of New Hampshire did impair it, and was therefore void, and rendered judgment restoring the property and control of the College to the Trustees who represented the Founder. The opinions of Chief Justice Marshall and Judge Story are masterpieces of judicial reasoning, and the principles laid down by them have ever since prevailed. In fifty-six cases decided by the Court, Acts of State Legislatures have been declared invalid in accordance with these principles, because they impaired the obligation of contracts, and it is not too much to say that, instead of having a disturbing or disintegrating effect upon civil society, these decisions have done more than any other single cause to inculcate a reverence for the law, and for the sanctity of the right of private property which is one of the chief objects of free government.

It is true that the constitutional prohibition against laws impairing the obligation of contracts does not expressly apply also to Congress. In the

Convention Mr. Gerry, a prominent delegate from Massachusetts, made a motion that Congress ought to be laid under the like prohibition, but found no seconder. But in the amendments which were proposed by Congress at its first session, almost as conditions on which many of the States had adopted it and which were quickly ratified, other restraints were laid upon Congress which had the like effect. It was expressly declared that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation, and Congress is bound by these prohibitions. No matter what the emergency, it cannot violate these fundamental principles of personal rights.

The Court has held that the United States cannot, any more than a State, interfere with private rights except for legitimate governmental purposes, that they are as much bound by their contracts as are individuals, that if they repudiate their obligations it is as much repudiation, with all the wrong and reproach that term implies, as it would be if the repudiator had been a State, a Municipality, or a citizen.

But strict and earnest as the Court has been in enforcing this constitutional prohibition against laws impairing the obligation of contracts, it has been ready to recognize and give full force and effect to the Statutes of other nations which imposed no such prohibition on the law-making power.

The Canada Southern Railway Company, under its Charter granted by the Dominion of Canada, had issued its bonds at a high rate of interest, and had sold them in New York to citizens of the United States, but getting into difficulties the Company devised a scheme of arrangement, which was enacted by the Dominion Parliament, by which the interest on the bonds outstanding was scaled down to a lower rate without the consent of the bondholders, a clear case of impairing the obligation of a contract. The bondholders appealed to the Supreme Court, which held that the "Arrangement Act" was valid in Canada, and bound non-assenting bondholders there by force of the scheme; that as it did have that effect in Canada, the Courts of the United States should give it the same effect, even as against citizens of the United States whose rights accrued in the United States before its passage; that there was no constitutional prohibition in Canada against the passing of laws impairing the obligation of contracts, and that, under these circumstances, the true spirit of international comity required that schemes of this character, legalized at home, should be recognized in other countries.

The clause of the Constitution giving Congress the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and between the States, has been another fruitful source of business in the Supreme Court in the way of testing the validity of State laws.

At the outset of steam navigation, the State of New York undertook to reward Robert Fulton for

his invention and enterprise by an Act giving him the monopoly of navigating by fire or steam all the waters within the jurisdiction of the State. Under this Act the Assignee of Fulton had commenced running a line of boats between certain ports of New Jersey and New York, and obtained from the State Courts of New York an injunction to restrain the owners of an opposition line of boats, put on between the same ports, from entering the waters of New York State with their boats. But the Supreme Court held, upon appeal, that the New York enactment was in conflict with the power of Congress to regulate commerce, and with its Acts in relation to commerce, and upon this ground vacated the injunction and established the right of all vessels to enter the port of New York under the authority of Congress. It was held that, by virtue of the constitutional clause referred to, Congress had exclusive authority to regulate commerce in all its forms in all the navigable waters of the United States, their bays, rivers, and harbors, and to make navigation free to all without any restraint or interference from any State Legislature.

By a long series of decisions that followed under the commerce clause the Court, with inflexible firmness and far-reaching sagacity, established the absolute supremacy of the nation over the whole subject of commerce, navigation, travel, and intercourse between the States, which went far to strengthen the power of the Union. At the same time they secured to the citizens of

every State the full enjoyment of the privileges and immunities of citizens in all the other States, and also that absolute freedom of internal trade throughout the country which has so vastly promoted the prosperity of the people.

The influence of the Court in maintaining the faith of Treaties has been powerful and far reaching. By the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain, in 1783, it was agreed that British creditors should "meet with no lawful impediments" in the collection of their claims; and the Constitution said that Treaties, like laws, made under its authority, should be the supreme law of the land. Various attempts had been made by several States, before the adoption of the Constitution, to impede or prevent the collection of such claims. The subject provoked bitter and exciting controversies, but the Court, against the contention of John Marshall himself, then at the Bar, held that the Treaty was supreme, and equal in its effect to the Constitution itself, in overruling all State laws upon the subject, and that its words were as strong as the wit of man could devise to override all obstacles directed against the recovery of such debts. Of course, any such law passed by a State after the Treaty contrary to its terms would be void.

Perhaps the most striking illustration of the power of the Court to declare Acts of Congress itself invalid, as contrary to the Constitution, was the celebrated Income Tax case. Congress in 1894 had passed a General Revenue Law, certain

sections of which imposed an Income Tax upon all incomes exceeding a certain amount named. This tax was levied indiscriminately upon all incomes alike, from whatever source derived, whether from the rents of real estate, the income of invested personal property, or from earnings. But the Constitution had ordained that direct taxes should be apportioned among the several States according to the numbers of their respective populations, in contradistinction to duties, imposts, and excises, which should be uniform throughout the United States.

It was contended by those who challenged the validity of the law, that taxes on rent, and taxes on the income derived from invested personal property, were direct taxes within the meaning of the Constitution, and that instead of being levied uniformly, man for man, throughout the United States, they should have been apportioned among the several States according to population. The difference was very considerable and substantial. The effect of the Act, if sustained, would be to throw the principal burden of the Tax upon a few large States, in which the relative proportion of wealth was in excess of the relative proportion of population, and to exempt the other States proportionally from their constitutional share of the Tax. The opponents of the Income Tax also insisted that any inequality, which should arise from its being apportioned among the States according to population, was an inequality contemplated by the framers of the Con-

stitution, and was intended to prevent an attack upon accumulated property by mere force of numbers.

The Court, against vehement and powerful opposition at the Bar, and from a formidable minority of the members of the Court itself, took this view, and declared the Tax to have been laid unconstitutionally, so far as it affected incomes from rents and from invested personal property. And as the invalid portions constituted so large a proportion of the whole Income Tax levied by the Act, that Congress could not be deemed to have intended to impose the rest without them, it further adjudged that all the Income Tax provisions of the Act, which constituted a single and entire scheme, must be held void.

There were some popular protests against the decision, and direful prophecies that it would disable the nation in future emergencies from raising the revenue it needed, but no such results have yet appeared. Congress, in its subsequent enactments, has conformed to the decision, and when the war with Spain came on, and an immensely enlarged revenue was needed at once, it found no difficulty in imposing taxes constitutionally and so successfully that, the year after the war closed, the Treasury was found to be burdened with so great a surplus that the entire body of war taxes had to be repealed at once.

The same case contains a fine illustration of the power of the Court to protect the States in the exercise of their legitimate power to manage

their own affairs from interference by the Federal Government. The Income Tax was levied also upon income derived from the interest upon bonds issued by Municipal Corporations, which were but civil divisions of the States, and the Court held that as a tax upon the income of Municipal bonds tended to cripple the power of the local authorities to raise money for the purposes of local government, it was not within the power of the Federal Government to impose it, any more than it would be constitutional for the States to impair the power of the Federal Government to raise money for Federal purposes by taxing its bonds.

By the adoption of the 14th Amendment, to meet the conditions resulting from the abolition of slavery at the close of the Civil War, new restraints were imposed upon the States, the consideration of which has largely occupied the attention of the Supreme Court.

It provides that "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Doubtless this amendment was primarily intended for the protection of the newly emancipated slaves, especially in the States where they had so long been held in bondage, but in its language there is no distinction of race or color,

and the Court held that it could make no such distinction in its application, which must be made alike to all cases and subjects that came within the scope of its language in its natural meaning.

It must not be thought, however, from these numerous restraints imposed by the Constitution upon the power of the States, and the very considerable number of cases (exceeding two hundred in all) in which the Supreme Court has pronounced their Statutes invalid, that the Court is biassed against the States, or inclined unduly to enforce the limits imposed upon them. On the contrary, it has been quite as jealous and careful to uphold and maintain the reserved rights of the States in all matters of local and domestic concern, and to protect them from violation by the Federal Government, as it has been to maintain the exclusive province of Congress in national concerns against intrusion by the State Legislatures.

It has endeavored, with success, to maintain the just and exact balance of power between them as prescribed by the Constitution. As against the two hundred cases in which State laws have been invalidated by its judgments, vastly more numerous cases will be found, in its reports, in which State laws have been maintained by it against attack on the ground that they involved a violation of the Federal restraints. If, then, it be asked — why has it only pronounced twenty-one Acts of Congress invalid on constitutional grounds, while

two hundred State laws have been condemned? the answer is that there are forty-five States and only one Congress, and that the members and Committees of Congress are much more familiar with the Federal Constitution than those of a State Legislature, who naturally look first to that of their own State. It is notable, too, that the legislators of some States must be much more studious of the Federal Constitution than others, for while Louisiana, which became a State in 1812, and from its French origin has retained the civil law instead of the common law, has had twenty of its laws pronounced invalid for violation of the Constitution, Massachusetts, one of the original thirteen States, has only suffered twice in this way in her whole history.

Congress is, of course, in the first instance the judge of the constitutionality of its own Acts, and its members being mostly lawyers, are familiar with the letter and spirit of the Constitution. The cardinal and wholesome rule of the Court has been, not to pronounce either a State or Federal Law invalid on constitutional grounds unless the violation is clearly established, that the presumption is in favor of the validity of a Statute, and that this continues until the contrary is plainly demonstrated.

The Supreme Court has felt that one branch of the Government cannot encroach on the domain of another without danger, and that the safety of our institutions depends in no small degree on a strict observance of this salutary rule. It speaks

volumes for the wisdom and caution of the Court which is vested with this remarkable and fascinating power, that in so great a mass of State legislation, some of it crude and undigested, consisting of thousands of volumes, it has not found it necessary to exercise the power much more frequently.

It has been a source of frequent wonder to foreign observers that a written Constitution, which was framed in the 18th century for thirteen feeble States, with three millions of people of substantially uniform wealth or poverty, scattered along the Atlantic seaboard, and for whose government it was regarded as a precarious experiment, should be found to answer as well in the 20th century for the needs of a great nation of eighty millions in forty-five States, occupying the breadth of the Continent, with gigantic accumulations of individual and corporate property, with conflicting interests and sentiments, and wide differences of social condition.

There was much debate in the discussions which resulted in the adoption of the Constitution, whether the Government which it called into being could reach and control even a people that was expected to occupy the territory which the Treaty of Peace of 1783 secured to the United States, which extended only from the Atlantic to the Mississippi River, and from the lakes to the northern boundary of Florida. Since that time our territory has expanded to more than four times its original area, and now embraces insular

possessions of vast extent, at enormous distance from the seat of Government and half way round the globe.

The fundamental difficulties of time and space have been overcome by the triumphs of steam and electricity, wholly unforeseen and unexpected in 1787, but which now, in the case of the United States and Great Britain alike, have rendered possible the administration of Government from London or from Washington on any portion of the earth's surface. At the time of the adoption of our Constitution it took about as long to travel the length or breadth of the then United States as it does now to go from New York to Manila, or from London to Pekin, and orders of either Government which then would have taken months to transmit, now reach their destination so as to be put in execution at the other end of the world in a few hours, and sometimes in a few minutes.

But in our case, we can account for the fact that a written Constitution, instead of being torn asunder and left by the way as the Nation expanded, as new and wholly unexpected conditions arose, has grown with the growth of the Nation, like the hide of an animal from its birth to its maturity, so that it still embraces and covers the whole of our vast national life. We owe it, first, to the wisdom of its framers, who inserted in it only fundamental rules and principles, generally and briefly expressed, leaving it always to Congress to fill in and provide for all details; and

secondly, to the vigorous and masterly manner in which the Supreme Court has exercised its essential and lawful function of construction. By this it has applied the whole instrument and each of its parts to new conditions as they arose, and has developed and strongly asserted the inherent powers of sovereignty intended to be vested in the Government of the United States, and necessarily resulting from their existence as a Nation. It was our happy fortune that for thirty-four years, in that critical period of our history which was to determine whether we were to be a great and powerful Nation, adequate for all the needs of a first-class Power in the world, or only a league of States like the old Confederation, we had the benefit of the broad and robust intellect of Chief Justice Marshall, to enforce the liberal principles of construction which the genius of Hamilton had laid down.

In a single paragraph he states the whole theory upon which the Court has administered the Constitution, and fitted it to the growing wants and changing conditions of the Nation: —

"The Government is acknowledged by all to be one of enumerated powers. The principle that it can exercise only the powers granted to it is now universally admitted. But the question respecting the extent of the powers actually granted is perpetually arising, and will probably continue to arise, as long as our system shall exist. The powers of the Government are limited, and its powers are not to be transcended. But the sound

construction of the Constitution must allow to the National Legislature that discretion with respect to the means by which the powers it confers are to be carried into execution, which will enable that body to perform the high duties assigned to it, in a manner most beneficial to the people. Let the end be legitimate, let it be within the scope of the Constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, and which are not prohibited, but are consistent with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, are constitutional."

Hamilton, in the "Federalist," declared that "the judiciary is beyond comparison the weakest of the three departments of power; that it can never attack with success either of the other two; and that all possible care is requisite to enable it to defend itself against their attacks." Montesquieu, whose works, with Blackstone's, were the text-books of constitutional liberty which the framers had constantly in hand, declared that "the judicial power is next to nothing." And it was said by another French publicist, "It has no guards, palaces, or treasures, no arms but truth and wisdom, and no splendor but the justice and publicity of its judgments." But the Supreme Court, sustained generally by the confidence and affection of the people, has more than held its own. Keeping carefully within its own limits, it has for the most part labored to keep the other departments of Government within theirs, and the powers of the States and of the Nation from coming into conflict. In its hands

the judicial power has been the force of gravitation which has kept each member of our federal system in its proper orbit, and maintained the essential harmony of the whole.

The closing scene in the Federal Convention, which made the Court in a way the guardian of the Constitution, will be ever memorable. After months of discussion, sometimes violent, more than once approaching the very brink of dissolution, in hopeless despair of coming to any agreement, at last the grand triumph of compromise and mutual concession was accomplished, and the members met to affix their names to the instrument. Hamilton, one of the youngest, acted as scribe, and after Washington had signed first as "President and Deputy from Virginia," inscribed on the great sheet of parchment the name of each State, as the delegates came forward in geographical order to add their names. When all had signed, Franklin, the oldest and most famous of them all, pointing to the sun emblazoned behind the chair in which Washington had presided through the whole struggle, said to those about him: "In the vicissitudes of hope and fear, I was not able to tell whether it was rising or setting. Now, I know that it is the rising sun." After more than a century's trial of their work, the sun which Franklin saw is not yet near the zenith. Much has been done, but vastly more remains to be accomplished, and it is still morning with our young Republic.

EDUCATION IN AMERICA

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Inaugural Address, August 1st, 1903, at the opening of the summer meeting at Oxford.

IN responding to the flattering invitation of the Vice-Chancellor to open this Course of Summer Lectures by an Inaugural Address, it was with no presumption on my part that I could say anything that would instruct the instructors, or educate the educators. He would be a vain man indeed who would dare to come to Oxford with any such idea as that. The only service that I can render is to open the way for those public spirited and self-denying teachers, who for the coming month will guide your studies by unfolding the rich stores of their ample learning.

In casting about for a subject — if I required a subject for this occasion — I appealed to the tried experience of the Secretary, who kindly suggested that as the principal course of the season was to be upon the Middle Ages, I should take that vast subject for my theme. But America has no place in the Middle Ages. I see by the programme that the year 1485 is assigned as the terminus of that period of modified darkness, but surely there must be a mistake of seven years, for Columbus did not discover America till 1492. Then it was that there was a new creation — a new adjustment of

the little world which we inhabit. Up to that time one half of the earth was still waste and void. It had been lost since the beginning of time. It was buried in that darkness which was upon the face of the deep; but the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters, and opened the new hemisphere to the yearning eyes of the brave Genoese — and again He said Let there be Light, and there was Light.

But however you may bound the Middle Ages, America contributes nothing to the studies and discussions which await you. I have carefully examined your programme and find not the remotest allusion to the Western Hemisphere. From ocean to ocean, from the North Pole to the South, it was — except for the barbaric civilization of Mexico and Peru — a trackless wilderness, whose wild inhabitants afforded no lessons for modern society, unless indeed it be for that very minute section of it, on either side of the water, the mere sportsmen — who do nothing but sport — for they spent their whole lives through the entire Middle Ages in hunting, shooting, fishing and canoeing. There never was such splendid sport, although nothing ever came of it but more sport. They were indeed our leisure class, the only leisure class America ever had — dating back to an unknown antiquity, certainly before the Conquest, perhaps before the Flood. Possibly our Pilgrim and Puritan Fathers took warning from their example when they resolved to found a new civil society which should consist, like

More's Utopia, of working classes only, and established the Commonwealth on the gospel of hard work, as it continues to this day. And so, perhaps, after all, America in the Middle Ages has contributed something to the sources of modern history.

I will therefore, if you will allow me, confine myself to the very modest endeavor to give you a mere glimpse of Education, of Universities, and University Extension in America, which may suggest to you their relation to the same great things in this country, without exposing me to the peril of commenting at all upon matters purely domestic here. A breeze from the West may sometimes be at least refreshing.

For 130 years from the great Discovery, while England was advancing by leaps and bounds, while Erasmus and Colet and More were doing their momentous work for the revival of learning in England, while Elizabeth's marvellous reign was perfecting the English language and literature, culminating in Shakespeare and Bacon — the whole Western Hemisphere remained undisturbed and undeveloped, except as the boundless enterprise and ambition of Spain invaded its tropical regions, and the energetic rivalry of Jacques Cartier and his successors led them to explore the St. Lawrence as the Pioneers of New France.

The first great act of the English Colonists after the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth in 1620, and the more important Puritan Emigration under Endicott and Winthrop in

1628-9, was the first and a very signal example of University Extension — the foundation of Harvard College as a nursery of godly ministers for the service of the Colonies. The new College was the direct child of Cambridge: the leaders of the Colony were Cambridge men, with a very little Oxford leaven, and John Harvard, born in Southwark, and baptized in St. Saviour's Church, who gave his name, his library, and the half of his fortune to the new foundation, was a graduate of Emmanuel, the distinctly Puritan College at Cambridge. Its nurture and discipline were all drawn from Cambridge sources, and for the first few decades it was a small counterpart, but in extreme poverty and littleness, of one of the Colleges of the ancient University from which it sprang.

While the Colonies still formed an integral part of the British Empire, eight more Colleges were founded after the same type, of which Yale, Pennsylvania, Princeton, and Columbia, still maintain their ascendancy. As their limited and very scanty endowments would permit, these all followed the English types exemplified in Oxford and Cambridge. They rendered great service to the Colonies and the Empire by training men, according to the approved classical and scholastic model, for the learned professions and for public life, and adequately answered the very moderate demands of the community for higher education.

It was nearly two centuries from the foundation of Harvard in 1636, before the inadequacy

of the Universities to supply the intellectual needs of the world, and to lead its advancing movements, was suspected, and another generation still before it was fully found out and exposed. So long as they were only expected to furnish for the service of the nation the necessary supply of lawyers, doctors and ministers, of teachers, scholars and public men, and to lead and promote the growth of its literature, the old routine, the old curriculum of the Colleges and Universities embracing Latin, Greek and Mathematics, with a little philosophy, metaphysics and history, were supposed to constitute the essential elements of the higher education which had sufficed for many generations.

But a new era was at hand. Probably there never has been such a revolution in social and civil life, as was produced by the application of steam and electricity to the practical use and service of man, which began in the lifetime of men standing here to-night, and ushered in an epoch of material development and progress such as the world never witnessed before, and which has by no means reached its culmination yet. The growth of the population of the United States from ten millions to eighty millions, the reduction of a virgin Continent to their use, the creation of a vast system of transportation by railroads that occupied every corner and reached every town in the country, the adaptation of all the applied arts to the construction, equipment and decoration of public and private buildings, the rapid advance

of science, the multiplication of inventions, the unparalleled growth of manufactures, and the consequent extension of commerce and trade, — all combined to create a new and enlarged civilization, which had outgrown the old Colleges and Universities, and threatened to leave them out, or at any rate far behind. This rapid and unbounded material and intellectual progress demanded and employed an amount and variety of education and brain power, which neither their numbers, their resources, or their system of training enabled the old Universities to furnish. Probably a very small proportion of this mighty work, which characterized and marked the 19th Century, had been done or devised by the graduates of our old institutions of learning. While they had been filling the professions, the halls of legislation, the great public offices, the chairs of the teachers and men of letters, the nation had looked for and found a great army of men of brains and men of action to attend to its construction, its transportation, its manufactures, its commerce, and business of every kind.

It was found then that our higher education must be adapted to this startling and violent change in our national life, and that if our Colleges and Universities would hold their own, they must greatly increase their numbers, change their methods, and assume new and closer relations with the people whom they still aspired to instruct and lead.

In the first place their numbers were multiplied.

At the beginning of the century there were only twenty-six Colleges and Universities in the whole territory of the United States, and many of these were in an infant and undeveloped state. They are now numbered literally by hundreds, bringing the higher education home to the people everywhere, many of them richly endowed, most of them furnishing to the youth of the surrounding community an adequate and varied training, adapted to qualify them for business and for any public or private duty to which they may be called, although it may be far below the standard now set by Harvard or Columbia, Yale or Princeton.

These new Colleges were not all on the same model, but afforded a wide choice of courses of study, to suit the varied necessities of a greatly diversified community.

With the exception of a few of the older States which were already well provided with them by private means, each State in the Union has, by the use of public funds and lands, created a State University; — and it has been the laudable ambition of several of our multi-millionaires to create Universities by the generous application of portions of their vast fortunes. It has been interesting to see how by this means powerful and most useful institutions of learning could be created all at once as it were. I mean of course in a very few years. Of these, the University of Chicago, founded in 1892, endowed chiefly by the generosity of one man, now numbering over 3,000 students,

and with an equipment approximating to that of its oldest sisters, is the leading example and compares favorably with the best.

The origin and foundation of the Stanford University, which owes its entire endowment to the lavish generosity of Mr. and Mrs. Stanford, is full of pathetic interest. Travelling in Europe they had the unspeakable misfortune to lose their only child, a youth of great promise, Leland Stanford, junior. Returning to America they considered how they might best perpetuate his beloved memory, and conceived the noble idea of creating a great University that should bear his name to a distant posterity. They were not much versed in University traditions, and had no special knowledge as to how to create an institution of learning. But they cherished and fostered the happy idea that had come to them. They consulted the best experts that could be found; — they visited Harvard and Yale and studied their history and methods, estimated the cost and value of their entire plants, and concluded that by an original investment of five million dollars, and a further five millions for equipment and maintenance, they might bring into existence a school of learning that should rank with the best, and be worthy of their highly honorable purpose.

They put their noble design into immediate execution, and on a splendid estate in one of the most beautiful regions of California, erected buildings that would be quite worthy of Oxford or of Cambridge, and in a very few years the

Stanford University took its place among the valuable seats of learning in the United States, richly endowed and equipped, commanding the services of distinguished professors and instructors, and thronged with many hundreds of students. Not only has it received the liberal amounts originally designed, but Mrs. Stanford surviving her husband has actually devoted to it the whole of their vast fortune, and thus they have indeed created a University which will be a lasting monument not to their lost son only, but to their own unstinted benevolence.

The Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore is another magnificent instance of private endowment, and is unique in its character among American Universities. It is mainly a post-graduate institution and embraces schools of Medicine, Science, and Physics, and is a nursery of original research, publishing from time to time the results of researches of professors and students. It has well fulfilled the hopes expressed for it by Mr. Huxley in his splendid address at its opening in 1876.

By far the most signal advance in University Extension yet made in America is the latest in date — the creation of the Carnegie Institute of Research at Washington — with an endowment of ten million dollars, to be devoted absolutely to original research. Whoever believes that there is no more truth to be found, no new law of nature to be discovered, may as well join the ranks of those deluded ones who believe the end of the

world is at hand. So long as ideas rule the world, this Institute will occupy a foremost place among institutions of learning, and bring lasting fame to its generous founder.

I ought not to pass from this part of my subject without a reference to the source from which some of our oldest and most prominent Universities, like Harvard and Yale and Columbia and Princeton, derive the means of their maintenance and development, to enable them to meet their ever-increasing needs, and the enlarged demands of the present day. They receive no aid from the public funds; they have been built up and sustained by private contributions; and their increased means of usefulness are chiefly due to the loyalty and gratitude and generous enthusiasm of their own graduates and their friends — which are found to be an unfailing support. It has come to be a common saying that no rich graduate can live or die without giving something to his University.

It goes without saying also that technical, professional, and trade schools of great importance and value, and in considerable numbers hold a high place among our modern educational establishments.

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology stands at the head of the whole system of technical education in the United States. It is primarily a school of industrial science. At the same time it finds room for the humaner studies. Mr. Mark, whose essay on " Education and Industry

in the United States " has been published by the Board of Education, says of it: —

" Over and above the engineering courses of various kinds, there are courses in architecture, chemistry, biology, physics, geology, and there is a general course for those students who wish to secure an education based upon scientific study and experiment, but including a larger amount of philosophical study in history, economics, language, and literature, than would be consistent with the technical requirements of other courses."

Lord Bacon says that every man owes a debt to his profession, and many of these technical, commercial and professional schools in America owe their high character, their great success and their munificent endowment to the loyalty and zeal of men who, without such advantages, by sheer force of brains and character, have succeeded in their various callings. Every man is naturally proud of the profession, business or art, in which he has himself succeeded, and it is to the eternal honor of many of our captains of industry that they manifest their gratitude by thus smoothing the footsteps to success of those who would follow where they have led.

The Drexel Institute in Philadelphia, the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, the Armour Institute in Chicago, are conspicuous examples of the generous sympathy of successful men — with the struggles and necessities of those who come after them.

The founders, Mr. Drexel, Mr. Pratt, and Mr.

Armour were very active and prominent men of business. Magnificent success had crowned their own efforts, and each of them determined to leave a memorial that should bear his own name, and spread through a wide circle the benefits of his great fortune. Nothing is more natural than that the founders of such institutions should desire to attach their own names to them, and so enjoy a certain earthly immortality — a privilege that cannot fairly be denied to them. They cherished ideals and aspirations far nobler than the material success which had come to them. One couplet of the Psalm of Life had for them a practical meaning.

> Lives of great men all remind us,
> We may make our lives sublime,
> *And departing leave behind us*
> *Footprints on the Sands of Time.*

There are no more enduring memorials than these " footprints on the sands of time." It was a " footprint on the sand " that, by the aid of the magic touch of De Foe's genius, has immortalized the name of a naked savage on a desert island; and geologists tell us that the surface of the earth is marked with " footprints on the sand " that have lasted for countless ages, and are to-day as distinct and clear as when they were first implanted. What better footprints, what nobler memorial can any man leave behind him than to give his name to one of these new creations, which shall carry the light of knowledge to the youth of distant generations?

You will perfectly well understand that our older Universities began as single Colleges, devoted to a strictly academic course, but as time went on there grew up about them and under their government, professional schools, each with its own separate and special faculty, of which the President of the University was the head. Taking Harvard only as an example, it has its Schools of Divinity, Medicine and Law, each distinct from and independent of the old academic department, Harvard College proper. For admission to each of them something equivalent to a degree of Bachelor of Arts already obtained is in general required. So widespread is the repute of these schools that students resort to them from all parts of the country, bearing the Diplomas of the most approved Colleges — and we now hear that certain eminent English Jurists are advising their sons to go over to the Harvard Law School, as the best foundation for legal studies.

Harvard also maintains, under the supervision of its Faculty of Arts and Sciences, a Scientific School crowded with students upon whom after a full course of study it confers the degree of Bachelor of Science. It also maintains, under the same supervision, a Graduate School, which is yearly growing in strength and importance, and is already one of the most interesting departments of the University. It provides advanced courses of study for the Graduates of Harvard and other approved colleges, and enables them to qualify

for the higher degrees in Arts, Science and Philosophy.

Thus have we endeavored to accomplish the first and not the least important part of our University Extension, by increasing the number of our schools of learning, and enlarging and varying the branches of knowledge and instruction to which they are generally or specially devoted.

No adequate idea can be formed of the importance and utility of this enlarged system of Universities, Colleges, and Professional and Technical Schools, without a knowledge of the broad and firm foundation on which they rest — the common schools of the United States, which from the beginning have been the peculiar care of the people. It is not too much to say in this regard that Education has been the chief industry of the nation. The Constitution of the State of New York declares that the Legislature must provide for the maintenance and support of a system of free Common Schools, wherein all the children of the State may be educated. And this is but a single application of the general policy, that each State owes to all of its children of both sexes, an education at the public expense, up to the point at which they may be able to sustain themselves in the struggle of life. Without this it was deemed that our Institutions, resting as they do upon universal suffrage, could not be safe or enduring. According as the condition in life of its parents permits, every child may, without expense to them, pass through the successive grades of primary,

grammar, and high schools, and be prepared not merely for its narrow vocation in life, but also for the discharge of that public duty which the possession of the suffrage involves.

Of course only a small proportion of the children of the State can avail themselves of the full benefit of secondary education provided, and a much smaller percentage can advance to a University training, but in the aggregate education is so generally diffused among the people, that the average laborer, mechanic, farmer or clerk, knows much more than enough to qualify him for his narrow and peculiar occupation, and can understand, and act, with some intelligence upon the public questions on which he is called upon to vote. Upon this broad and deep foundation our Universities rest, out of it they have grown, and with it they form one entire and co-ordinated system, upon which a Government depending wholly upon the sum of public opinion of all its citizens may safely abide.

It is difficult to present the simplest statement of the magnitude of our common school system, without seeming to be guilty of gross exaggeration. According to the latest available statistics, the whole number of pupils enrolled exceeds 16,000,000, of whom fifteen and a half millions are in the primary and grammar schools, and 600,000 in the high schools and academies. It was to these common schools that the nation looked, when the Universities failed, for the supply of that brain power, energy and enterprise, which

the making of the nation demanded. From this great mass the accidents of birth, fortune and circumstance select the few, about 120,000 in all, who can avail themselves of the College and University training. But the combined intellectual force of the country is in the Common Schools, and out of it by a process of natural selection have been eliminated the effective genius, talent, and faculty which the exigencies of the age required for the expansion of modern life. To these in chief measure we owe the engineers, the inventors, the mechanicians, the practical scientists, who have directed our material development.

In the same way those who have read that fascinating book, Smiles's "Lives of British Engineers" must have been struck with the fact that men who did so much for the making of England, for the most part enjoyed but little of the advantages of the higher education, but sprang from the people, and seemed by the mere force of natural faculty to educate themselves for their great and responsible work. But, school or no school, college or no college, Genius will work its way to the front.

A single word more about our common schools, to me always a fascinating subject. Of the teachers whose numbers amount to about half a million, it is safe to say that much more than two-thirds are women — who here find a field of usefulness and honor, which lies at the foundation of our national prosperity and distinction. By general consent, the conscience, the sympathy and the

superior patience of women are deemed to qualify them in the highest degree for the wise and tactful instruction of the youth of both sexes. At any rate with us their general employment as teachers has proved a complete success.

I freely acknowledge my great obligations to the accomplished and faithful women who taught in the common schools of Massachusetts which it was my good fortune to attend. But since that remote day the scientific training of women in the fine art of teaching has advanced in a sort of arithmetical progression in normal schools, in colleges for women which fairly rival in dignity and equipment the best colleges for men, and in such institutions as the Normal College for Women in the City of New York. So that to-day great numbers of women, thoroughly qualified for the service of the State in the common schools and even in higher education, are to be found in all parts of the Union, and they exercise a wide-spread and powerful influence in elevating, refining and humanizing the youth of the Nation.

But however much we may multiply the number of our seats of learning, we cannot adapt them to the demands and exigencies of modern life, without a wide and radical departure from the ancient curriculum, which aimed only at qualifying youth to prepare for certain limited professions, or to take part in the administration of public affairs. Whatever special calling a man is to follow after leaving the University, he ought to start with a generous and liberal education

such as every gentleman should have. But if we want our Universities to fill the full measure of their usefulness in the grand action of the world of to-day, and to be responsible for the leaders in such great occupations as those of the Engineer, the Architect, the Manufacturer, the Merchant, the Banker, the Railroad President, the Journalist, the man of Science, and those who apply science to the useful arts on the grand scale upon which those callings are now pursued, cannot some system be evolved on a broader scale than that which prevailed in all the Universities before this tremendous expansion of modern life began? Can we not attain the desired object of a liberal education upon which we insist for them all, without binding them all down to that system of training which once sufficed for candidates for the older professions, for public service and for the cultivated life of the leisure class? Cannot a scheme be devised which will enable every man who enters the University, to get the most out of himself, to begin to prepare for the life occupation for which he is best fitted, and to serve the community by the best exercise of the faculties with which he is by nature endowed?

These questions have been answered in the United States by the adoption of the second form of University Extension to which I have referred, the broadening and expansion of the courses of instruction, and by the introduction of the open door for the human mind into the University curriculum. What is known as the elective sys-

tem, which was practically unknown fifty years ago, has now, against great opposition, and in the face of inveterate prejudice, been steadily gaining ground, and promises to prevail in our principal seats of learning. President Eliot, who is well entitled to be called the author of this system in the United States, explains it thus:—

"The state of society at large under freedom is perfectly illustrated by the condition of things in a University, where the choice of studies is free and every student is protected and encouraged in developing to the utmost his own gifts and powers. In Harvard University for example, thousands of students enjoy an almost complete liberty in the selection of their studies, each man being encouraged to select those subjects in which he most easily excels and consequently finds most enjoyment and most profit."

It is not, however, to be supposed that because this wide liberty of choice is allowed to the individual student a less amount of work is required of him; on the contrary, a full and equivalent measure of study is prescribed and exacted as under the old system, and the same degree is given for both.

I would not undertake to judge how far such a system could be adopted with wisdom or success, under the totally different social conditions which prevail here, but a glance at the programme of this Eleventh Summer Meeting prepared by the Delegacy for the extension of teaching would seem to show that it has already made consider-

able progress, and I believe that at Oxford there is practical freedom of choice for each student, without regard, of course, to degrees or honors.

You must not suspect for one moment that Harvard, or any of the other American Universities which have adopted the elective system, are being converted into Technical Schools or Commercial Colleges. Far distant be the day when the first step in that direction shall be taken. On the contrary, they adhere rigidly in their academical course, to the orthodox theory, that special study for professional or business life should be postponed, till a broad and general education has developed the faculties and character, and that only upon such a foundation can education in specialties safely rest. But many men have many gifts and different faculties. They are not all run in one mould, or all capable of making the most of themselves by studying the same things. The old classical course is still always open to all who desire to follow it, and is maintained in a high degree of excellence. No preferential tariff is imposed on the humaner courses, an equal amount of duty and performance is exacted from the others; — and the modern languages, natural history, science and the many other studies that have been added to the curriculum, are accepted only as equivalents and substitutes for the more ancient requirements.

You are too familiar with the other forms of University Extension in which the United States have faithfully followed the lead of Oxford

and Cambridge, to require me to enlarge upon them.

Chautauqua, with its 10,000 students; — the fourth quarter or the summer term at the University of Chicago, where academic work goes right on throughout the year (48 weeks), like any other business, drawing students and professors from nearly all the other American Universities; the Harvard and Columbia Summer Schools, each gathering hundreds of students from all parts of the United States and from foreign lands; the splendid and effective work done by the Extension Society of Philadelphia; — are but examples and illustrations of what is going on for the promotion of higher education in many parts of the country.

Among them all the Chautauqua summer assemblage has done more than any other to stimulate and satisfy the desire for knowledge, and an earnest purpose to acquire something like a University education, among those to whom fortune denied a regular college training. You should read Mr. Herbert B. Adams's account, of which I can only give you an abstract. It is really a University itself in session for the summer months, with schools of English language and literature, of modern languages, of classical languages, of mathematics and science, of pedagogy, of religious teaching, of music and the fine arts, of expression, of physical education, of domestic science, and of practical arts, instructed by learned professors, and by volunteers from the

educated men and women of the land, and attended by thousands from every State and from foreign parts. It is really the pioneer of summer schools, having held its regular sessions for nearly thirty years, and has constantly increased in the extent and power of its influence. It lays out courses of home study and reading for four years. "Work begun under competent direction at Chautauqua, may be continued, at home, by correspondence with the head of the 'school' throughout the year." In very rare cases, after very searching tests and examinations, such work may be rewarded by the degree of Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science, which the Regents of the University, the highest educational authority of the State of New York, are empowered to confer. The number of local reading circles in all parts of the country, inspired and guided from Chautauqua in the last twenty years, has been about 10,000, and its total enrolment of readers in that time has been about a quarter of a million. This is really bringing higher education home to the people in earnest. Chautauqua stands for hard study and high thinking, and its votaries are almost entirely the people of plain living. It is hard to measure its influence and power for good. President Roosevelt, who has long been known as a historical lecturer and writer, visited the assemblage in 1899, when he was Governor of New York. Welcomed by 10,000 people in the great amphitheatre, he said that he came to preach the gospel of intelligent work, that

this Chautauqua did not come by chance, that it was the result of years of hard work, and that now there is no institution more fraught with good to the nation than this.

The Regents of the University of the State of New York have had great success in promoting Extension Lectures in connection with the State Library at Albany, with the combined aid of travelling libraries, travelling pictures, extension lectures, and State examiners, all working harmoniously and efficiently together under one central guidance at Albany. The Library is the great foundation of extension work in New York. To bring books to the people, to teach them what books to read and how to read them, and to bring the best books within their reach in connection with the living voice of the lecturer, is the cardinal object and means of stimulating the love of study, and the thirst for knowledge.

In some of the States, notably in Massachusetts, travelling libraries are hardly needed, and but few Carnegie Libraries are to be found. In that State, which consists of 350 townships, all but five had, at last accounts, established each for itself a free public library open to the use of all citizens, and maintained at the public expense; but even in such States, what to read and how to read it are still very serious questions, upon which great light ought to be shed by the Summer Lectures.

Emerson, whose name has been on all tongues lately in connection with the centennial of his

birth, and who was one of the greatest readers of his time, and got more out of his reading than almost any other man, laid down some cardinal rules for his own selection of books.

"Be sure," he says, "to read no mean books. Shun the spawn of the press on the gossip of the hour. Do not read what you shall learn without asking, in the street and the train. The scholar knows that the famed books contain first and last the best thoughts and facts. In the best circles is the best information."

"The three practical rules," he says, "which I have to offer are: 1. Never read any book which is not a year old; 2. Never read any but famed books; 3. Never read any but what you like." Thus out of the tens of thousands of books that issue from the press every year, he would let the world first winnow for him the chaff from the wheat, and from the hundreds of good books that were so eliminated he would have each student select for himself what his own necessities and his own taste required. At all events, one of the greatest services which your lecturers can render, is to guide you in the choice of the books in your selected course.

But enough of our American methods. By substantially the same means the two countries are pursuing the same end of popularizing the higher education — of bringing it home to the people — and securing its benefits not only to those whom fortune or circumstance enables to spend four years at the University — but to that vastly

greater number, whose thirst for knowledge and desire to make their working lives more useful and more happy, lead them to seek and avail themselves of the great privileges which the various methods of University Extension supply. To continue in after life the delights and profit of those studies, which the great majority of University men leave behind them when they take their degrees — to extend them in generous measure to the less fortunate, who have had to enter upon the struggle of life without them — and to apply the systematic methods of College training to many general and popular subjects, for which no place is found in the established curriculum, are the three great objects which these and other summer courses of lectures and reading have successfully attained.

To come for these high purposes to Oxford — this most ancient seat of education known to the English race — about whose venerable Halls and Libraries, quadrangles and walks, cluster all the history, traditions and memories of many centuries of learning and study, whose very air is redolent of knowledge and wisdom, seems to me to be the highest reward and privilege of the earnest seeker after truth.

One supreme advantage you enjoy, which will make the month you spend here more rich and profitable than a whole year to the ordinary University student. He who comes here because he is sent, because it is the fashion to come, because his parents know not what else to do with

him in the four years which separate youth and manhood, often carries away, I fear, very little to show for his time. But you who are in dead earnest, who come because you cannot stay away, and with the firm resolve to make the most of the opportunity, will go home bearing your sheaves with you, and fruits of study which will enrich and gladden all your days.

Upon one thing I must especially congratulate you — the presence of women on an absolutely equal footing in attendance upon all the courses that are offered here. Here in conservative Oxford, and in the Summer School of Harvard which on other occasions equally ignores the idea of co-education, these men and women, earnest and ardent seekers after truth, sit on the same benches, hear the same lectures, pursue the same studies, and live the same lives, while this ideal month lasts. The young daughter of Somerville or Girton, of Radcliffe or Barnard, who is in search of more light and the higher life, finds here her full and equal opportunity.

And this brings me to the last point I wish to make, that these Summer Meetings are not only an opening of the doors of the University to those who have been shut out — not merely an exchange of learning between different Universities and Colleges and Schools, but they constitute a real international exchange of knowledge and opportunity. I see in this audience visitors from all the Continental nations, all bound on the same glorious errand, and what I rejoice in still more,

men and women from my own country, who having acquired what our own Universities had to give, have crossed the seas for the sole purpose of spending a month in this congenial company, in these sympathetic and inspiring surroundings, in this Oxford, the historic and perpetual home of the scholar.

It is such intercourse as this — the exchange of ideas, of sentiments, of hopes and aspirations, that will be of priceless benefit to both countries. Cecil Rhodes, that great Englishman, — "great empire builder," as the *Times* calls him — great citizen of the World as I prefer to call him, for so his will attests him, — with the most comprehensive and exalted view of the unity of the race to which he belonged, — has provided that henceforth forever, there shall at all times be at Oxford 100 American youth selected from all the States, here to receive and enjoy, and to carry home, the best fruits of her nurture and instruction, which this ancient nursery of scholars and wise men has to bestow. We shall try to give you our very best — picked men on whom no opportunity will be wasted — men who will be ambitious to win your highest honors and rewards — and I am sure they will carry home with them what is of more value than all that, a better knowledge of our own country and of yours — a better understanding of the relations which should exist between them, a more generous sympathy of race with all who speak the English tongue.

And now will not some rich American — there

are plenty of them who could do it without feeling it — I could name scores of them — will not some broad-minded and patriotic American respond to Mr. Rhodes's challenge, and in his lifetime — now — straightway — make a similar and equal provision for one hundred young Britons — English, Scotch and Irish — to be maintained at all times at such Universities in the United States as they may select — the best men you can give us — who would study England from the American point of view, while they are studying America from the English point of view — and learn that the two peoples, in spite of their different methods and usages are very much alike, and in pursuit of the same ends and objects.

I know both peoples pretty well now, but I do not know which Country, or which set of young men, would be the greater gainer by the exchange. I am sure that it would put an end for ever to that provincial spirit which still lingers on both sides, and especially among the young men of both sides, and would establish an endless chain of intercourse and sympathy, which it would be to the perpetual interest of both countries to preserve.

What I mean by the provincial spirit which still exists among the young men of both countries, is that national prejudice born of intense love of country, which refuses to see or believe that anything can be done quite as well abroad as it is at home, and which looks with condescension and patronage upon the best efforts and achievements

of other nations. This prejudice, though traceable to a very noble motive, does certainly stand in the way of the highest national development, and I know of no cure for it so effectual as would be the constant interchange of students in large numbers, between the great Universities of the two nations. And if the movement lately inaugurated, for a more intimate relation and interchange of ideas and students between the Universities of English-speaking countries is to proceed in earnest, the Universities of the United States must not be left out.

In a matter so vital and far-reaching as Education, on which the supreme interests of both nations so absolutely depend, England and the United States cannot stand apart. They must each study the methods, motives, and results of the systems pursued by the other, and in a spirit of generous rivalry strive each to promote the moral, intellectual and spiritual welfare of its own people — being sure that in so doing they will best advance the cause of civilization, and co-operate for the general welfare of mankind. I know of no more notable compliment ever paid by one to the other, than when your Board of Education published last year, for the information of the British public, in its Special Reports on Educational subjects, those two great volumes upon Education in the United States — so expressive of the sympathy and interest of this kindred people in all our experiments, mistakes and successes — and you may be sure that all the

friends of Education in America, including every intelligent and public spirited citizen, are watching with equal sympathy and attention the great work which is being done here in the same direction.

If the moral courage and intellectual achievements of the English race the world over are to keep in advance, or even to keep pace with its material and industrial progress, it can only be done by maintaining at its highest level the standard of Education on both sides of the water, and especially by extending the higher education as broadly as possible among the men and women of both countries. And so I say let us stand together, and learn from each other and help each other all that we can.

As Mr. Lowell well said: "*The measure of a nation's true success is the amount it has contributed to the thought, the moral energy, the intellectual happiness, the spiritual hope and consolation of mankind.*"

The more strenuously we contend for that success, the stronger and warmer will be our friendship, our sympathy, and our mutual confidence and respect.

SIR WALTER SCOTT

SIR WALTER SCOTT

Address before the Edinburgh Sir Walter Scott Club, November 11, 1899.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: — I thank you most warmly for this cordial greeting, but I take all the credit of it for my country and not for myself. Truly your country and mine are connected by bonds of sympathy which were never stronger and closer than at this very hour. When Dandie Dinmont had listened to the reading of Mrs. Margaret Bertram's will, he threw himself back and gave utterance to that great saying: "Blood is thicker than water." Little did he dream that he was giving to two great nations a watchword for the exchange of love and greetings eighty years afterwards.

I can assure you that Lord Salisbury, in his generous and cordial words last night at the Lord Mayor's banquet, will meet with a quick and hearty response on the other side of the Atlantic. Our great poet has said that "peace hath her victories not less renowned than war," and this iron-clad friendship that now prevails between these two kindred nations is her last and greatest victory. It means peace not merely between your country and mine, but among all the great nations of the earth, and it tends, by advancing civiliza-

tion, to promote the prosperity and welfare not of the Anglo-Saxon race alone, but of the whole human race.

Now, it must be said that Americans and Scotchmen in particular have a great deal in common. Even in those lighter personal characteristics which sometimes amuse our common critics, they are very much alike. Our national habit, for I confess it is a fixed habit, of making ourselves at home wherever we go, must have been inherited from some remote Scottish progenitor, for I assure you that your people come over and settle down upon us and make the very fat of our land their own. They celebrate the birthday of your patron saint in America with far more gusto than you have ever done at home. No doubt about that. And on the thirtieth of November, they convert our great land, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, into another land of cakes.

I have known more than one of these invaders who, landing on our shores in youth with nothing but sound minds and brave hearts in stalwart bodies, have returned in mature age to become the owners of lordly castles and broad domains of which princes and dukes might well be proud.

There is another habit of ours which I do not admit, but which malicious critics ascribe to us, — of being very eager in the pursuit of the almighty dollar. Well, I have been studying the Scottish character somewhat since my arrival, and I am bold enough to ask the question whether that is not, after all, a feeble and respectful imitation of

your keen and constant pursuit of the five times more almighty pound.

Although those are circumstances in which we are alike, there is one ruling trait more striking than either of these, and that is that innate modesty — that overwhelming modesty and distrust of ourselves, which is truly the common characteristic of both peoples, and which always puts us in a pious frame of mind and leads us to unite in uttering that well worn prayer: "Lord, help us to have a good conceit of ourselves."

But, seriously, in those essential and vital qualities that go to make up the national character, we are also alike; and we may boast and be proud of our mutual resemblance. I mean in that inborn love of independence; that claim for the individual to all the liberty and all the scope which is consistent with the general welfare; in the pure spirit of the highest and noblest democracy at home in these islands as well as in the United States, and in that spirit by which we measure men more by their worth than by their birth.

> "The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
> The man's the gowd for a' that."

And then we agree also in that love of national liberty; of freedom bred in the bones of every nation that has struggled for and achieved it. They all, you all, we all, worship the champions that have helped us win it even for centuries after they are turned to dust, and if liberty ever should

be in danger on either continent, we should invoke their venerated names and spirits.

" Oh, once again to freedom's cause return
The patriot Tell, the Bruce of Bannockburn.
O'er the broad ocean let the summons run
And wake to life the sword of Washington."

We acknowledge with gratitude the service which Scotchmen have rendered to us in every period of our national history. They helped us found more than one of our infant colonies; they helped us to win our independence; and in your ancient cemetery, the monument erected to our great patriot, Lincoln, (the first erected to him on this side of the water) recalls the valor of Scottish soldiers who helped us to maintain our political independence; to strike the shackles from the limbs of four millions of slaves, and to prove, in the words of our martyr President, that " government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

I have been told to-night to propose the theme of literature, but that entire sentiment at this place and in this presence centres upon the name and personality of one man. All the other fixed stars in the spacious firmament of Scottish literature must pale a little to-night before the light of this central luminary.

To an American visiting, for the first time, Scotland and your romantic, your picturesque, your beautiful city of Edinburgh, everything

around him speaks of Scott. Go where you will, turn in whichever direction, his name seems to sanctify and hallow everything. I have read in your last annual report, and to my intense amazement, that it requires the efforts of the Society to induce the schoolboys of Edinburgh to read Walter Scott's works. I can hardly believe it. No, I will not believe it. Why, in America he finds hundreds of thousands of readers every year. The press teems with new editions, and every educated man is supposed to be, and is really, familiar with his leading poems and romances. When we come here we do not come as strangers. He has made us feel at home, more at home in Edinburgh than in any other city of Europe. There is not any other city, not even Rome itself, that has become so familiar to Americans who have never seen it, than this beautiful city of yours, and all thanks to the marvellous descriptions of this your beloved poet and novelist.

So, when we come here, we come, as it were, as pilgrims to visit shrines that he has made familiar in story; to the haunts and homes of his heroes and heroines; to Arthur's Seat and Holyrood; to his own professional and personal places; to Abbotsford, the sad memorial of his tragic struggle, and Dryburgh Abbey, where his sacred dust reposes, while his spirit still walks abroad among all English speaking peoples, to fill them with love of Scotland, its history, its scenery and its people.

Carlyle has said, after nobly describing Scott as the pride of all Scotsmen, giving him credit for

an open soul — a wide, far reaching soul — that carried him out in absolute sympathy with all human things and people; after giving him credit for that wonderful and innate love of the beauty of nature and the power of describing it, and his infinite sympathy with man as well as with nature, he has, in one of his most acrid utterances, said that if literature has no other task than pleasantly to amuse indolent, languid men, why here in Scott was the perfection of literature. Well, now, for one, I must confess that every now and then, I am one of those indolent, languid men, and as I look along these tables, if I rightly study your characters and moods, I suspect that this is a great group of those indolent, languid men, who believe that it is not the only task, but that it is one of the most valuable tasks of literature to amuse and to entertain mankind.

I have often thought that I would rather have been the author of one such book as Waverley, or Kenilworth, or Henry Esmond, or Romola, than to achieve any other kind of personal, professional or public fame. The good that these books do us, the rest they give us, the enjoyment they yield us among the hundreds of millions who read the language in which they are written, is absolutely infinite, and the fame that the author of such a book wins rivals, if it does not outshine, all other kinds of fame.

Look at it now! Waverley was written in 1814, a memorable event in the history of British literature; the battle of Waterloo was fought in the

next year, one of the great critical battles of all human history. Eighty-five years have gone by since then, and which name is now dearer to mankind? Which one now enjoys the wider and the better fame, Wellington or Walter Scott? I shall not answer that question. I leave every man to answer it for himself.

So much has been said about Walter Scott tonight that I will not tell you all I wish to say about him. I would like to recall just four points of his character, which are the dearest to me in it all — his humanity, his cleanliness, his heroic industry and his patriotism.

His humanity! He was the most humane of men, with the sunniest of souls in the soundest of bodies, and with a cheerful and happy temperament which is always worth millions to its possessor. What would not Carlyle have given for a share of it? He loved God and he loved man, and what more can you say? His heart went out to all his fellow men and theirs in turn came back to him. Everybody loved him. Even the dumb animals fawned at his feet, and it was this intense, everloving and glowing humanity that was in his heart that made him as he was in his day and generation, the most popular man in all the world.

Well, this humanity was godliness, and it is the old proverb that "cleanliness is next to godliness." Now, to have written so much, to have found so many millions of readers, to have found his way in every family, in every land that reads

at all, and yet not one word in the whole, not one word that he, dying, would wish to erase, not one false suggestion, not one double meaning, not a single thought or suggestion that could bring a blush to the cheek of the most innocent and delicate reader. This ought not to be high praise, but it is high praise when you recall some modern novels, not French only, but some English, which have brought fame and profit to their authors, which find their way into every family upon the plea that everybody reads them, catering to the morbid passion for mental and nervous stimulus, and which present to the minds of our young people scenes and incidents which men and women of the world cannot read without a shudder.

I am happy to believe that there is a reaction from the modern poison; that there is a return to a better state of feeling. Lead the minds of our young people back to the more wholesome diet, such as Scott and Thackeray and Dickens and George Eliot provide, and I recognize, in the work of this Society, a step in that direction. It is not in vain that you have taken up such a work as that. Literature ought not to contain such poison as I have referred to, and, thanks to such men as Scott, Thackeray and Dickens, and such women as George Eliot, there is ample reading without any resort to that.

And then his heroic industry. Shall I say one word about that? Scotchmen and Americans have been brought up for so many generations upon the gospel of hard work that mere industry is not

such a venerable virtue, but in him it indicated that high reserve, that indomitable purpose, which has hardly been manifested in such force by any other man in all my reading. When adversity overwhelmed him, when great schemes that he had built up with so much ambition came toppling about his head, he never wavered. He lost not one jot of heart or life. He held his head erect and worked on, until his tireless pen dropped from his dying hand. Every hour was full of life and aspiration to the end, and he personified in his own action, in his own fashion, his own favorite maxim:

> "One crowded hour of glorious life
> Is worth an age without a name."

And then his patriotism, noblest and proudest of his gifts. He loved his country with an intensity exceeding that of woman. He never tired of describing the glorious virtues of Scottish heroes, the beauties of Scottish landscape, and all that went to make the land of his birth heroic and beautiful. And so he drew the eyes and hearts of all men hither to admire and to love. His biographer says that upon the publication of the Lady of the Lake, swarms of English tourists came flocking over the borders the next summer, to visit the places which his magic pen had described.

But that was not all. This patriotic fervor, this irresistible charm which mark all his writings,

goes a great deal deeper and further than that. It inspires the hearts of his young countrymen to imitate the heroic deeds of their ancestors whom he so fondly loved to describe. Wherever the Scottish soldier goes, wherever you find him in the hour of trial, in the trenches, in the hospital, or in the camp, you find in many a knapsack stray copies of Marmion, Rob Roy, or other of his charming works, for the solace and entertainment and inspiration of the soldier who has gone forth to battle. If you hear, as you will hear, of young soldiers of Scotland doing great deeds and dying heroes' deaths, I am sure you will give some of the credit to this great wizard of the North, who has inspired them with his own patriotic fervor.

Scott stands midway between Burns and Carlyle in your literature. How fortunate the country, the little country, that has produced, in a single century, three such wonders as these. Where will you find the like? Search through history, ancient and modern — where will you find three such wonderful boasts of literature as Burns, Scott and Carlyle? The emerald, the ruby and the diamond, the three great jewels in Scotland's crown. And in their name I give you the toast of Literature, and I am proud and happy to couple with it the name of one who has done, I think, as much as any other living man to keep the well of English pure and undefiled. I give you the toast of Literature and Mr. Andrew Lang.

THE ENGLISH BIBLE

THE ENGLISH BIBLE

Address at the Centenary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, London, May, 1904.

MY Lord Northampton, Ladies and Gentlemen: — I consider it a very great honor to be privileged to appear before this great audience assembled from all the Christian nations to-night, to represent first, my country, and secondly, the American Bible Society, as one of its delegates.

I shall take as my text for the brief discourse that I am privileged to address to you, a direct message which I have received by cable from the President of the United States.

The President, no matter what heavy responsibility, no matter what serious labors may rest upon him, is always ready with a good work and a helping hand for every great and worthy cause. The President cables: "Convey to the British and Foreign Bible Society my hearty congratulations on their Centenary and my earnest wish for the continued success of their good work. Theodore Roosevelt."

My Lord Northampton, for the American Bible Society and in its name, I have the honor, in common with my fellow-delegate, the Reverend Dr. Ingersoll, to submit this address to the President, Vice-Presidents and officers of your Society:

" Gentlemen and Brethren, we, the President, Vice-Presidents, Officers and Managers of the American Bible Society, in accepting the honor of an invitation to the celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of your Society, and in joining the great number of those who congratulate you on the honorable and auspicious accomplishment of your first centenary, do hereby pay our hearty tribute of gratitude, admiration and reverence to our elder sister.

" The organizers of our Society acknowledge, with deep gratitude, the generous gift of money and of sympathy with which the British and Foreign Bible Society brightened our first years. In all our career, we have been stimulated by your faithful example.

" In recognition of the wonderful achievements made possible by your steady fortitude and noble devotion in all lands, it has pleased us to designate as our official representatives to your celebration the Reverend Edward Payson Ingersoll, D. D., Corresponding Secretary, and the Honorable Joseph H. Choate, the Ambassador at the Court of St. James to bear personal testimony at your Centenary of our fraternal regard and steadfast confidence. We who send these greetings and salutations, recognizing your high aims and noble endeavors in every domain of your activity, commend you to Him whose we are and whom we serve, praying that He may continue to be your light and guide until the Word shall be fulfilled. ' They shall teach no more every man his neigh-

bor and every man his brother, saying "Know the Lord," for they shall know Me from the least of them and unto the greatest of them.'

"Adopted by the Board of Managers of the American Bible Society February 4, 1904.

"DANIEL COIT GILMAN, *President.*

"WILLIAM INGRAHAM HAVEN, *Secretary.*"

And now let me say that the President, in his hearty message of good cheer, and the American Bible Society in their more formal address, have but spoken the sentiments of the entire people of the United States, who have justified from the beginning the cordial and hearty support which you have given to the American Bible Society for the last eighty-six years.

I was going to say that the American Bible Society is your own offspring, but, inasmuch as you yourselves were only twelve years old when it came into being, I must regard you as our elder sister, and our elder sister it was who showed us the way, who encouraged us in our small beginning, who sent us a grant of five hundred pounds from her treasury to start with, which was a tremendous help in those days, and who has ever since been leading the way which we have been glad to follow.

Let me say one word more about the American Bible Society. Like yourselves, it has had its struggles and its triumphs. Like yourselves, it has an immense work on hand. Like yourselves, it finds the demand far greater than the supply

that it is able to furnish. It is no small undertaking to keep eighty millions of people supplied with a Bible in every house, and that has been their ambition. And then they have to meet about eight hundred thousand immigrants from foreign lands every year as they land in New York and other parts of the country, and I am sorry to say that they are not always provided with Bibles, and the Society has to take care of them. But with all that, I think its records will show, as in the past, that now and in the future, it can be relied on to do almost as much for foreign lands as it does for its own people at home.

Now this great harvest which this centenary demonstrates, is only, after all, what has grown up from the little seed which, nearly three hundred years ago, your fathers and our fathers united in planting in the distant wilderness. When the Pilgrim Fathers embarked in the Mayflower in 1620, and when, eight years afterwards, the great Puritan immigration from old England to New England set in, they carried with them, our fathers and the brothers of your fathers, carried with them, as their best possession — in fact, the only one which was to have a lasting value — King James's Bible, upon which their infant State was built. It was their only book — their only readable book. I have read catalogues of the books which some who were best off among them had, and the Bible was the only readable book, and that was readable by every man, woman and child. It was the ark of their covenant, and, really, they

did find, within those sacred covers, their shelter from the stormy blast and their eternal home. Their faith was founded upon it, and having no other book, you can realize how there they stood to find, not their religion only, but their literature, their biographies, their voyages and travels, their poetry, such as no poets have ever since produced, and that magnificent march of history from the beginning, and they searched and found in it the golden rules of life.

I do not know that I can more forcibly bring before you how completely the Bible was their one treasure, than by describing one of the few family Bibles that have come down from those days to ours — the only legacy that has reached the remote posterity of the family to which it belonged. It was read twice a day in every family by the head of the household, with all the members gathered about him, going in at Genesis and coming out at Revelations, the whole journey being accomplished twice every year between January and December. Dog's-eared? — that is a mild term to express its condition, for its leaves were absolutely worn away by the pious thumbs that had turned them. It was really the fact that New England, in its first generation, was the most biblical community on the face of the earth. Their laws, their customs, their language, their habits, were founded upon it, and in it they found their sole guide of life.

Let me read a word from one of the greatest of their descendants, Phillips Brooks, that most

noble product of New England culture, himself a true descendant of their blood. He said worthily of them (I could not begin to find language equal to his in point of expression): "It never frightened a Puritan when you bade him stand still and listen to the voice of God. His closet and his church were full of the reverberations of the awful, gracious, beautiful voice for which he listened. He made little, too little, of sacraments and priests, because God was so intensely real to him. What should he do with lenses who stood thus full in the torrent of the sunshine?"

Our New England fathers, with the Bible as the basis of their lives, realized that prayer of Erasmus, uttered one hundred years before they found foothold upon Plymouth Rock, — a prayer which it was often dangerous to breathe in those early days: "I wish the Gospels were translated into the languages of all people, that they might be read and known not only by the Scotch and the Irish and the English, of course, but even by the Turks and the Saracens. I wish that the husbandman may sing parts of them at his plow; that the weaver may warble them at his shuttle; that the traveler may, with their narration, beguile the weariness of the way."

Well, our Pilgrim Fathers were exactly the kind of men that you might expect them to have been. I wish you would just imagine, for one moment, what our lives would be if, like them, the Bible were our only book. No newspapers, no weeklies, no magazines, no novels, no libraries, no school

reading of any kind. I only hope that we, like them, would find our refuge where they so safely found theirs.

In the days of their greatest poverty and distress, they founded Harvard College, in order, as they said, that the supply of learned and godly ministers might never fail, and they gave it a motto which holds to this day: "To Christ and the Church," and, what means the same thing, "Veritas" (truth), and then they founded the great State of Massachusetts, which I shall not ask you for one moment to hear about. I can only say what Mr. Webster says of her: "Massachusetts, she needs no eulogy. There she stands; behold her and judge for yourselves."

If you ask me what more has come of it, what other good things founded upon the Bible, besides Plymouth Rock and Boston, I should say that a very large share of the good which has been wrought out in America from the beginning is traceable to their pious efforts, that if the common schools have found their way from the Atlantic to the Pacific; if slavery has been abolished; if the whole land has been changed from a wilderness into a garden of plenty, from ocean to ocean; if education has been fostered according to the best light of each generation since then; if industry, frugality and sobriety are the watchwords of the nation, as I believe them to be, I say it is largely due to those first emigrants, who landing with the English Bible in their hands and in their hearts, and assisted by men like themselves here

in London, established themselves on the shores of America.

Without detracting at all from the great part which has been contributed from other countries, we say that that little leaven has leavened the whole lump, and if you ask me what the signs of the leavening of the lump are, I point again to the work of the American Bible Society and its relation to that community. It is liberally supported and encouraged by many ardent friends in every state and in every territory of the Union. I point to the fame and influence which it has acquired throughout the land. I point to the millions of dollars which it is gathering in for this pious use, and to the scores of millions of Bibles which it has distributed, on the principle always of the whole Bible for the whole world, to all but the poor at cost, to every one of the poor without money and without price.

And now, before I sit down, I should like to make a claim for my country which may be a little surprising to this audience, and that is that one of the first translations from the English text of the whole Bible into a heathen language, was made in the earliest days of Massachusetts with the great aid that was sent over to us from London. There came over to us in 1639 a poor clergyman from Jesus College, Cambridge. There he had been distinguished for his studies in theology and for the study of languages, and when he came to America he made himself busy in connection with that peaceful, harmless tribe of Indians who

made their home in Massachusetts, and tried to teach them the word of God. After he had learned their language, and it took him about twelve years to learn, he sent over a cry for help, and he got a response. The same cry and the same response has been going on to this day: "Can we to souls benighted the lamp of life deny?" What was the response? Why, Parliament, consisting then only of the Commons, I am sorry to say, organized a society entitled "The Corporation for the propagation of the gospel of Jesus Christ in New England." And the preamble of the act passed in connection with this society is a very remarkable one and shows how interesting was the relationship which our ancestors bore to the Indians to whom they held out the hand of fellowship. Here it is:

"Whereas, the Commons of England have received certain intelligence by the testimonial of divers faithful and godly ministers in New England, that divers heathen natives of that country, through the blessing of God, upon the pious character and pains of some godly English of this nation, who preached the gospel to them in their own Indian language, who not only of barbarous have become civil, but many of them, forsaking their accustomed charms and sorceries and other Satanical delusions, do now call upon the name of the Lord — with tears lamenting their misspent lives, teaching their children what they are instructed in themselves, being careful to place their said children in godly English families and to put

them to English schools, betaking to themselves but one wife and putting away the rest, and by their constant prayer to Almighty God morning and evening in their families, expressed to all appearances with much devotion and zeal of heart, Therefore," etc., etc.

Therefore the Commons established this corporation to raise a fund in England for this purpose, and by their apostle John Elliot, completed, as early as 1663, or one hundred and forty years before the foundation of the British and Foreign Bible Society, a complete version of the Bible in the Algonquin tongue. Probably there is not a man now living who can read a word of it. Certainly there is not a vestige of the tribe for whom it was written, but it is a grand monument for its author, and it pointed the way for this Society and for the American Bible Society.

I cannot take up any more of your time. I only wish to ask, What is it that we are working for as societies? Each for its own interest primarily, but, next to that, we have a greater and a further mission, and that is to promote and advance the cause of civilization, of order, of religion, of peace and of duty. I believe that such occasions as this go far in the accomplishment of that mission. How far, then, is it possible to make these two great nations policemen to keep the peace of the world? Some rely upon armies and on navies, upon armaments and gunpowder and lyddite and dynamite as the best guarantees of the preservation of peace, but sometimes these things explode

when least expected. Others rely upon the slow and tortuous processes of diplomacy, but diplomacy sometimes fails, as we have had illustrations lately.

I believe, and I think that the British and Foreign Bible Society and the American Bible Society unite in that belief, that the only sure guarantee of peace is the moral influence of public opinion. Let each nation and the people of each nation give their governments to understand that they are for peace and there will be no war. I believe that if these two nations which you and I represent were to set the example, the other Christian nations would follow. Nothing could withstand such a weight of public opinion based upon this book, which speaks always to the world for peace and good will, "Peace on earth, good will to men." I believe in co-operation in good work, in every good work possible, between the people of our two countries. Why should we not co-operate in all good work, we who have one God, one Bible, one language and one destiny?

ADDRESS AT DINNER GIVEN TO MR. CHOATE BY THE BENCH AND BAR OF ENGLAND

AT LINCOLN'S INN, APRIL 14th, 1905

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MY Lord Chancellor, my Lords, and Gentlemen, — I may say brothers all, for I accept your presence here to-night as a signal proof that neither time, nor distance, nor oceans, nor continents can weaken the ties of sympathy and fraternity between the members of our noble profession wherever the English law has reached or the English tongue is spoken. On this spot, consecrated for centuries — I was going to say for unnumbered centuries — to the study and development of the law, I feel that we are gathered to-night for a veritable professional love-feast, if I can judge from the kindly words of the Lord Chancellor and the Attorney-General and from your genial countenances. No profane presence of laymen, no troublesome affairs of clients, can disturb us here to-night. We are all lawyers, except the Judges, and they, too, are lawyers who have soared in ascension robes to a higher and

nobler sphere. I thank you all from the bottom of my heart. For an American lawyer who long since withdrew from the arena to find himself the guest of the united Bench and Bar of England, supported by the presence of all that is illustrious and famous among them, is a position which only overcomes me with a sense of my own unworthiness of the compliment you have paid me. I cannot but feel that in my person and over my head you desire to pay an unexampled honor to the great country that I represent, to its Bench and Bar, that daily share your labors and keep step with your progress, and to the great office that I am about to lay down.

Let me say a single word about the altogether too lavish compliments that the Lord Chancellor has paid me in respect to my official career in England. My task has not been the difficult work of diplomacy to which he has referred. It has all, from the day of my arrival here until now, been made absolutely easy by the spirit with which I have been received. The two representatives of this great country with whom I have had to do at the Foreign Office — Lord Salisbury and Lord Lansdowne — have made my task perfectly easy, not only because they have always practised the modern diplomacy, meaning what they say and saying what they mean, with never a card up any sleeve on either side, but because in every single incident they have met me more than half-way in all that went towards conciliation, harmony, and union between the two countries. It was also

easy for us on both sides for other reasons — because the two great chiefs of State on either side, the late illustrious Queen and the present occupant of the Throne, his not less illustrious Majesty, upon the one side, and President McKinley and President Roosevelt upon the other, have all the while been determined that the two countries should be friends; and, back of all that, a circumstance which gave great force to everything that either has ever said, the rank and file, the great mass of the people on either side, were determined that nothing should happen to impair the friendship of the two peoples. I cannot tell you how much I thank you for your presence here to-night. I am especially proud that the chair is occupied by the Lord Chancellor, whose name in both countries is a synonym for equity and justice. In spite of his thirty-five years at the Bar and his eighteen years upon the Woolsack, he is the very incarnation of perennial youth. Time, like an ever-rolling stream, bears all its sons away, but the Lord Chancellor seems to stem the tide of time. Instead of retreating like the rest of us before its advancing waves, he is actually working his way up stream. He demonstrates what I have been trying to prove for the last three years, that the eighth decade of life is far the best, and I am sure he will join with me in advising you all to hurry up and get into it as soon as you can. He gave me his personal friendship immediately after my arrival here, which has all the time been growing stronger and stronger; and, while he has

been drinking at some mysterious fountain that always renewed his mind and his body, I can answer for it that his heart has all the time been growing younger and fresher and warmer. I must also acknowledge with gratitude the presence of the Lord Chief Justice to-night. He, too, has graced my life in England with his friendship. His name is a household word in America. He is held in the highest esteem and honor; and I only hope that he will yield to my repeated persuasions to come over and give us a chance to show how much we like him.

The occasion and the Lord Chancellor's and Attorney-General's most kindly words, I am afraid, will make me a little egotistical. I must disavow what they have so strongly pressed — my great prominence in the profession. I only tried always to keep my oath to do my duty by my client and the Court; but I will confess that from the beginning to the end of my forty-four years at the Bar I loved the profession with all the ardor and intensity that that jealous mistress the law could ever exact, and was always trying to pay back the debt which, as Lord Bacon says, we all owe to the profession that honors us. In my youngest days I could not resist the attraction of those historic and dramatic scenes and incidents in the lives of the world's great advocates which everybody knows. Who would not have given a year's ransom, a year of his life, to have heard Somers, in the case of the seven Bishops, in a speech of only five minutes, breaking the rod of the oppressor,

winning the great cause, and at one bound taking his place, the foremost place, among the orators and jurists of England; or Erskine, the greatest advocate anywhere and of all time, when he dared to brave even the mighty Mansfield's admonition that Lord Sandwich was not before the Court? "I know he is not before the Court, and for that very reason I will bring him before the Court." He entered the tribunal that morning an absolutely briefless barrister, and went out of the Court with thirty retainers in his pocket and followed by a crowd of solicitors engaged in a race of diligence to see who should reach his chambers first. Who would not have given a year of his life to have heard Webster pleading before the Supreme Court of the United States for the little college in the hills, where his intellectual life began, and throwing successfully round it the shield of that most beneficent of all constitutional provisions, that no State shall pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts?

I started in life with a belief that our profession in its highest walks afforded the most noble employment in which any man could engage, and I am of the same opinion still. Until I became an Ambassador and entered the *terra incognita* of diplomacy I believed a man could be of greater service to his country and his race in the foremost ranks of the Bar than anywhere else; and I think so still. To be a priest, and possibly a high priest, in the temple of justice, to serve at her altar and aid in her administration, to maintain and defend

those inalienable rights of life, liberty, and property upon which the safety of society depends, to succor the oppressed and to defend the innocent, to maintain Constitutional rights against all violations, whether by the Executive, by the Legislature, by the resistless power of the Press, or, worst of all, by the ruthless rapacity of an unbridled majority, to rescue the scapegoat and restore him to his proper place in the world — all this seemed to me to furnish a field worthy of any man's ambition.

The relations between the Bench and the Bar of England and those of the United States are far more intimate and enduring than I think even you can suppose. I wish you could enter any of our Courts in America anywhere between Boston and San Francisco. You would find yourself on familiar ground and perfectly at home — the same law, the same questions, the same mode of dealing with them. You would find always and everywhere the same loyalty on the part of the Bar to the Bench and on the part of the Bench to the Bar. Some things you would miss. You would miss, I think, some of that dignity, some of that picturesqueness, at least, which prevails in your own tribunals. Our barristers appear in plain clothes in Court. The Judges — some of them — wear gowns, but never a wig. I think it would be a very rash man that would propose that bold experiment to our democracy. If the Lord Chancellor had wished that our primitive and unsophisticated people should adopt that relic of antiquity

and grandeur, he should not have allowed his predecessors in his great office to tell such fearful stories about each other in respect to that article of apparel. We have read the story of Lord Campbell, as given in his diary annotated by his daughter, as to what became of Lord Erskine's full-bottomed wig when he ceased to be Lord Chancellor — that it was purchased and exported to the coast of Guinea in order that it might make an African warrior more formidable to his enemies on the field of battle. We have a great prejudice against anything that savors of overawing the Court, overawing the jury; and if any such terrors are to be connected with that instrument our pure democracy will never adopt it.

Now, gentlemen, these ancient Inns of Court, and, above all, Westminster Hall, with its far more ancient and historic associations, which have been the nurseries and the home of the Common Law for ages, are very near and dear to my countrymen, and especially to my brethren of the Bar in America. There is nothing dearer to them. They flock to Westminster Hall immediately on their arrival here; and they wish — I wish for them — to acknowledge that infinite debt of gratitude that we owe, that the whole world owes, to the Bench and Bar of England, who have been working out with untiring patience through whole centuries the principles of the common law which underlie alike the liberties of England and of America. It was the Bench and Bar of England in the Inns of Court and in the Courts in West-

minster Hall, and more lately in the Royal Courts of Justice, that established those fundamental, those absolute principles that lie at the foundation of our common liberties. What are they? That there is no such thing as absolute power, that King, lords, and commons, President, congress, and people, are alike subject to the law; that before its supreme majesty all men are equal; that no man can be punished or deprived of his dearest or any of his rights except by the edict of the law pronounced by independent tribunals, who are themselves subject to the law; that every man's house is his castle, and though the winds and the storms may enter it, the King and the President cannot; in other words, and the sublime words of the great Sidney, that ours, on both sides of the water, is "a government of laws and not of men." Indeed, we claim these venerable structures as in large part our own. I believe that William Rufus held his first Court in Westminster Hall at Whitsuntide, 1099. Well, when John Winthrop, of the Inner Temple, went over to America to found the State of Massachusetts in 1629, those Courts, that great Hall, these Inns of Court had been as much ours as yours for hundreds of years; so that you see we claim a very great interest, a personal and immediate, and direct right in all that has contributed to the growth and development of the law in England. You had been in these very Inns of Court, studying and teaching the law, for at least a century before Columbus made his great discovery, which opened the dawn

of a new creation and put an end to the dark ages. In Magna Charta and the Petition of Right our colonies carried with them the germs of what has grown to be American law and American liberty. At the beginning there were no lawyers in America. They had an idea of a Utopia which could be carried on successfully by the help of the clergy, without them. But we have made great progress since then, and our last census shows in America more than 100,000 lawyers. I can give the exact number — 104,700, of whom 1,010 are women. Now, I am afraid the Lord Chancellor, who is so conservative, would hesitate a little at the admission to the Bar of 1,010 women; but I assure him that if he will go over there and hold a Court in which they may be heard, and if you, gentlemen of the Bar, will go over there, and take retainers with them or against them, you will be so fascinated that you will embrace every opportunity afterwards of repeating the experiment.

Now, our Declaration of Independence, which the Lord Chancellor seems to have a little doubt about, our Constitution of the United States, which he has no doubt about, are only the natural sequence of Magna Charta and the Petition of Right. Our Revolution only followed suit after your Revolution of a hundred years before. We stood for the same principles, we fought the same fight, we gained the same victory. Our Jefferson and Franklin and their associates in declaring independence, our Washington and Hamilton and their associates in organizing the Government of

the United States and setting its wheels in motion, were only doing for us what Somers and his great associates had done for you in 1688. Now you will not be surprised that in these fateful events, which meant so much for the welfare of the world, and in which the lawyers took a very great part, these Inns of Court contributed their *quota;* and that there were five of the signers of the Declaration of Independence who had been bred to the law in the Middle Temple, and three of the framers and signers of the Constitution of the United States who had been bred in the same Inn, and one of them was afterwards nominated by President Washington as Chief Justice of the United States. So you may well imagine with what delight I was informed a day or two ago that I had been made a Bencher of the great American Inn, the Middle Temple. I do not think any American lawyer has ever had such a success as that. They may have won more cases, they may have got more fees, but they never have been made Benchers of any of the Inns of Court. In fact, this incident, so touching to my heart, has almost changed my mind. I have a great mind not to go back to America, but to remain here and resume the practice of the law where those five signers of the Declaration and those three signers of the Constitution left off 125 years ago. I should like to cross swords and join conclusions with some of these distinguished Benchers of the four Inns of Court who grace these tables tonight. I do not know what my brethren of the

Bar at home would say, but I think they would say, " If you have achieved such a success as that make the most and the best of it at once."

Well, there is no difference between American law and liberty and English law and liberty. I should like to mention two responsibilities which have been thrown upon the Bench and the Bar in America in a greater degree than here. One is that on the Bar the whole burden of legislation from the beginning has been thrown. In a country like ours, where the executive and the legislative departments are kept asunder by impassable constitutional barriers, it is justly considered, and has always been considered, that, for making and amending and expanding the law, the men best qualified are those who are already skilled in the law, and so from the beginning the majority of lawyers in Congress and in each one of the Legislatures of our forty-five States has been uniformly maintained.

And then upon the Bench there has been thrown another very great responsibility, growing out of our peculiar form of government, exercised by all the Judges and culminating in the unique power of the Supreme Court, to which the Lord Chancellor has referred, to set aside, to declare null and void, any Act of any Legislature or of Congress itself which comes in conflict with the provisions of the Constitution. I believe it has been exercised by that Court about twenty-four times in the case of Acts of Congress, and something like two hundred times in the case of State enact-

ments, and it has been the balance wheel upon which our complicated and dual system of government has turned. There we have over every foot of the soil of our great territory and over every living being within it two distinct and independent Governments, each supreme and absolute in its own sphere and working in absolute harmony because of this harmonizing function of our great tribunal.

I said a little while ago that perhaps you excelled us in your tribunals in dignity, in the control which the Court exercises, and ought to exercise, over the Bar. It is all illustrated by a single difference of phraseology. In America we say that the counsel try the case and that the Judge hears and decides; but, if I understand your common parlance here, the Judge tries the case and the counsel hear and obey. That is where we have got a good deal to learn from you. It is exactly as it should be. But do not believe for a moment that there is any abdication on the part of our tribunals, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, of the functions and authority that belong to the judicial office. If anybody should go over there and try it on he would find that he was very much mistaken indeed. There is an example set by that august tribunal to which I have referred. No Court could be looked up to with so much reverence; no Court, I think, receives the homage and deference, not only of the community, but of the Bar, in such a signal way as that; and the influence of its example is widely extended, and

other tribunals follow as they may. Now, gentlemen, I must not occupy any more of your time. I cannot express the overflowing feelings that are welling up from my heart at this moment when I find myself thus honored by the most illustrious men of the Bench and Bar in England, and that such words of affection for me should have been spoken on every side. I can only thank you again and again. Let me tell you of what one of my predecessors said — I think many of you knew him — himself a very great lawyer, Mr. Phelps. Before I left America to come and take up my office here he called upon me and he said, " Mr. Choate, the best nights that you will have in England are those that you will pass with the Bench and the Bar." " The lawyers," said he, " are the best company in England, and I advise you to lose no opportunity of cultivating their friendship. You certainly will have your reward." My Lord Chancellor and gentlemen, I have faithfully followed his advice and I have my reward to-night. No one ever had one more rich and generous. I shall carry the memory of it with me as long as I live, and I think I shall be attracted by the love of my professional brethren to visit these shores as often as I can.

FAREWELL

FAREWELL

Address at the Farewell Banquet given to Mr. Choate, by the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House May 5th, 1905.

MY Lord Mayor, Mr. Balfour, my Lords and Gentlemen,—Certainly this is the crowning hour of my life. At any rate, it is positively my last farewell benefit upon the English stage. To be received and fêted by the Lord Mayor of London, who holds the most unique and picturesque office in the kingdom, who bears upon his breast the badge which his predecessors in direct succession have worn for more than seven hundred years, the Chief Magistrate of this wonderful City, the centre of the world's commerce and the seat of the British Empire; to have my health proposed and my obituary pronounced by the Prime Minister, who bears upon his ample shoulders all of this great globe which the British drum-beat encircles, supported as he is too by such a number of possible Prime Ministers of the future, all ready and willing in the fulness of time, with consummate self-sacrifice, to relieve him of this great portion of his duty; to see present also so many members of that august but occult body, the Cabinet, who labor in secret, but to-night for my sake have come out into the full glare of the bright electric light; to be honored

by the presence of the Foreign Secretary with whom I have had such delightful intercourse, Lord Lansdowne, from whom no secrets are hid; and then to find that so many of the famous men of England of all professions, parties, and opinions have come here to-night as my friends — I could look almost every man in this company in the face and claim him almost as an old friend — I do not dare trust myself to speak at all about it. I can only thank the Lord Mayor for his magnificent hospitality, and you, all my fellow-guests here, for your inspiring presence. I am sure that you will indulge me, before I say the fatal word "Farewell," in a few words in response to what has been so eloquently said to you by the Prime Minister. Altogether too much credit has been attributed to me for the happy, the delightful relations that now exist between our two countries. If I have contributed in the least degree to maintain and preserve what I found already existing, the last six years will be the proudest of my life.

But, gentlemen, the real credit of this happy state of things belongs not to me or to any Ambassador, but it belongs to the two men who are responsible, and have now for some years been responsible, for the conduct of our relations, no longer foreign relations — I mean Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Hay. The diplomatist who should try to pick a quarrel with Lord Lansdowne would be a curious crank indeed; because he would have to pick it all himself; Lord Lansdowne would be

no party to it. And, happily, so it is with Mr. Hay. Never were two statesmen more happily matched, for the noble game that is entrusted to them. When the noble marquis escapes from the *ennui* of Downing street and the tiresome visits of Ambassadors, to his beloved retreat in the extreme southwest of Ireland, he finds himself in the next parish to the United States, with nothing between us and him but fresh air and salt water. And I think I have noticed that he catches and reflects the breezy influences of that close neighborhood. At any rate, I have always found that my best time for dealing with him on American questions was when he returned refreshed and invigorated from that near approach to the Western World. Always, the policy of the Foreign Office, so far as I have observed it, has been one of fairness, frankness, justice and simple truth, and I hope that he has found our State Department the same.

No single man can claim exclusive credit in this happy result. You all know how constant, how unceasing your gracious Sovereigns and our high-minded Presidents have always been in the same direction. I wish to say here to-night that I have never been called into the presence of his Majesty the King or of his illustrious mother that I did not find them full of expressions of sympathy and friendship for the country that I represent. I well remember the last interview that it was my honor to have with your late illustrious Queen. It was immediately after a frightful conflagration

had occurred in America, where many lives were lost. She knew all about it, she had studied all its details, and was as full of sympathy and sorrow as if the disaster had occurred in her own dominions. And as for his Majesty, the King, why, his instinct for peace is so unceasing, his genius for conciliation so perfect, as he has been showing to the world in this very last week, that it will be impossible hereafter as long as he lives for any of the other nations to quarrel with his own people.

I have been asked a thousand times in the last three months, "Why do you go?" "Are you not sorry to leave England? Are you really glad to go home?" Well, in truth, my mind and heart are torn asunder by conflicting emotions. In the first place, on the one hand, I will tell you a great secret. I am really suffering from homesickness. Not that I love England less, but that I love America more, and what Englishman will quarrel with me for that? There is no place like home, be it ever so homely, or, as the old Welsh adage has it, "east and west, hame is best." My friends on this side of the water are multiplying every day in numbers and increasing in the ardor of their affections. I am sorry to say that the great host of my friends on the other side are as rapidly diminishing and dwindling away. "Part of the host have crossed the flood, and part are crossing now," and I have a great yearning to be with the waning number. And then, on the other hand, to make a clean breast of

it in this family party, I am running a great risk, if I stay here much longer, of contracting a much more serious disease than homesickness — I mean Anglomania, which many of my countrymen regard as more dangerous and fatal than even cerebro-spinal meningitis. To a young man it is absolutely fatal, but to one who has well-nigh exhausted his future, the consequences are not quite so serious. It was wisely said by one of the Presidents of the United States that he would not trust a Minister or an Ambassador in England more than four years, because those English would be sure to spoil him, and you have done your best to spoil me — not as the children of Israel spoiled the Egyptians, by taking from them all they could lay their hands upon, but by heaping on my undeserving head all the honors and compliments and benefits that you can lay your hands upon. And so it is hard to say whether I am more glad or more sorry, or on which side of the water I shall leave or have the largest half of my heart. Mr. Balfour has spoken of the advantages that I have had in studying the English people, and he wondered what sort of impression I should carry home. Well, I shall carry, in the first place, the most delightful personal memories — memories of exalting and enduring friendships formed, of many happy homes visited, of boundless hospitality enjoyed.

But I shall carry away something better than that. I shall carry away the highest appreciation of those great traits and qualities which make and

mark your national life — the reign of law absolutely sovereign and supreme in all parts of the land; individual liberty carried to its highest perfection, perfected by law and subject to it; that splendid and burning patriotism which inspires your young men when their country calls to risk life and all they hold dear for her sake. I recall that lofty stanza of Emerson applied to our young men when they responded to a similar call: —

> " So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
> So near is God to man;
> When duty whispers low — ' Thou must '
> The youth replies, ' I can! ' "

I shall carry with me the recollection of that splendid instinct for public life which animates and pervades those classes here from whom public duty is expected, and the absolute purity of your public life which is the necessary result. There are so many other things that I witnessed here. I wish I could spend time in recalling more of them.

One thing that has struck me from first to last here in England is the loyal devotion of all the people to the integrity of the Empire, conforming, as it does, exactly to our fundamental idea of American life that everything must be sacrificed, everything else must be sacrificed, if necessary, to maintain the sovereignty and integrity of the Republic. I came here believing that you were a cold and phlegmatic people, not capable of those

mercurial outbursts of emotion which sometimes carry away my own countrymen and those of other nations. But I have lived here long enough to change my mind and to know you better. I have seen you, as Mr. Balfour has said, in all the vicissitudes of peace and war, under the strain of a tremendous anxiety and apprehensions of disaster, and in all the exultation of victory. I found that under your cool exterior, your serene repose of manner, the hall-mark of the English gentleman, which other nations may well envy, you carry hearts as warm as ever inspired the enthusiasm of any people. I was brought up to believe that work, hard work, was the end and aim of life — that that was what we were placed here for. But on contemplating your best examples I have learnt that work is only a means to a higher end, to a more rational life, to the development of our best traits and powers for the benefit of those around us, and for getting and giving as much happiness as the lot of humanity admits.

Six years ago I came among you an absolute stranger upon a mission wholly new to me, but from the moment I landed I was no longer a stranger. All doors were open to me, endless hospitality was showered upon me, and I learnt that I had really some useful work to do here. In these days of cables and wireless communications, when the Foreign Office of each nation is brought into actual presence in the capital of every other, an American Ambassador who confined himself to official duties would have very little work to do.

I was instructed by President McKinley to endeavor to promote the welfare of both countries by cultivating the most friendly relations between them; and in obedience to that instruction I have gone to and fro among the English people, coming in close contact with them, studying them at near range for the purpose of discovering the distinctions and differences, if any, that exist between us. I have endeavored to make them better acquainted with my own country, its history, its institutions, its great names, for the purpose of showing them that really the difference between an Englishman and an American is only skin deep, that under different historical forms we pursue with equal success the same great objects of liberty, of justice, of the public welfare, and that our interests are so inextricably interwoven that we would not, if we could, and could not if we would, escape the necessity of an abiding and perpetual friendship. I have no doubt now, and can have no doubt, about the permanence of the peace which now exists between us. War between these two great nations would be an inexplicable impossibility. We have got along without it for the last ninety years; we shall get along perfectly well without it for the next nine hundred years — absolutely so.

The gravest questions have arisen during this protracted period of peace, questions which other nations might have made causes for war, and we have settled them all without a single exception by resort to the peaceful mode of arbitration, to

the principle of which Senate and people are all equally committed. You must not be troubled by hearing of any domestic discussion as to how this happy result of leaving every question that may arise between us to final settlement by arbitration can best be brought about. In the practical application of the principle we have never yet failed in the past, and we shall never fail in the future. Of course, as you all know, there are questions which are not capable of arbitration, but no such questions are possible, as it seems to me, to arise between your nation and ours. Our good understanding is now complete and perfect; our interests are more interwoven than ever before; our knowledge of each other is greater and closer than ever before, and every year and every day it is growing closer. It means very much that our multitudinous visits to your shores have been responded to in a single season by return visits of such men as the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Hereford and Ripon, Lord Dartmouth, Mr. Bryce and Mr. Morley; and, if I am rightly informed — if I am not mistaken — in the event of any change of Government the retiring Ministers would follow their example, and they would find in the capacious bosom of our broad Republic the rest for which they were seeking and the new life and inspiration which would bring them home for the next rebound. And I really believe that, if you follow the advice of his Grace and these returned statesmen, a visit to America might be made hereafter an absolute

qualification in the education of a British statesman.

Our literature on both sides is filled and saturated with our good understanding. The most recent eminent historian of Great Britain exhausts the power of eulogy in dwelling upon the merits of those arch Republicans, George Washington and Alexander Hamilton, and even of Benjamin Franklin, who snatched the lightning from the clouds and the sceptre from tyrants. And it has also been discovered what we always knew — that my predecessor, Mr. Adams, who stood here like a rock for the interests of his country in days most perilous to our peace, has really proved to be in the end the best friend of both countries, as Mr. Herbert Paul, in his last volume, for which I thank him, declares him to have been. He says that at Geneva he saved the arbitration from collapse and the two nations from falling apart, and he boldly suggests that he is entitled to have a monument at Westminster as well as at Washington. I thank him for that. Then, on the other side you have heard a good deal, and I have heard a good deal, of the rancor and bitterness that had grown into the American school-books, especially the school histories, bringing down to present times the hard feelings of our former conflicts; but Mr. Goldwin Smith, whose name you will all respect as an historian, in his very recent address before the American Historical Association, declared that, having heard a great deal about this vice in the school histories in use in America, he

made a collection of our school books of the present day and examined them, and he expresses the positive belief that there is very little in them which could give offense to any reasonable Englishman.

Then you heard what my successor, Mr. Whitelaw Reid, who will soon be with you, said recently in New York. Let me read it to you, for it is a very good introduction of him to this audience. He said that international good will "after all is no longer a subject of much concern. We do not continue to worry over an object of national or international desire when it has already been attained. We are content to enjoy it." The good will between your country and this already exists. Never at any stage of our history has it been so generally taken as a matter of course on both sides of the Atlantic. And let me say here that you will find my successor — you will recognize him as a life-long advocate of friendly relations between England and our own country. He will come among you as an old friend. You have received him before on several most distinguished and brilliant missions. His experience and diplomacy, his knowledge of affairs, his versatility are well known, and I am sure that you will give him a good old-fashioned, hearty British welcome.

Now, serene and secure as our peace is, I am not so foolish as to indulge the hope that it will never be disturbed. Untoward events will happen, unfortunate things will be said, something

or other will happen that will for the moment disturb the serenity of our peaceful relations. And how are these threats of disaster to be avoided? Standing here by the side of your predecessor, eight years ago, Lord Salisbury said that there was nothing in the traditions of Government, nothing in the tendencies of official life, which was any danger, if any existed, to good relations. "Take care," he said, "of the unofficial people, and I will see that the official people never make any war;" and he went on to speak of that public opinion which dominated Governments then and which has since grown to dominate them still more. If any such unhappy occurrences do arise, we are to be tided over them by public opinion and by that great exponent of public opinion and guide of the public conscience — a high-minded and patriotic Press on both sides of the Atlantic. If the Press does its best to minimize such untoward events and to keep the people cool till sober second thoughts come we shall all be glad; but if they stir up the embers and fan the flames and pile on the fuel, they may get up a conflagration which will tax all the international powers of the fire brigade commanded by Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Hay to extinguish.

And now why waste a night in words when I only came here to say a single word? I bid you, and through you the people of England, farewell with infinite regret, carrying with me the most precious memories and the best opinions and a mind enlarged and improved by my six years

here, having learned to take a broader and a happier view of our relations and the possibilities of our two peoples than I had before; and I end as I began, by thanking the Lord Mayor for his boundless hospitality and for giving us this splendid occasion for the interchange of friendly sentiments between two great and friendly peoples.

JOHN HARVARD

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Address at the unveiling of the Harvard Memorial Window presented by Mr. Choate to the Dean and Chapter of St. Saviour's Church (Southwark Cathedral), May 23d, 1905.

MY Lord Bishop, I may be permitted to state in a few words my object and purpose in presenting the window to the Cathedral. I desired to signalize my long residence in London by an appropriate gift which should be in itself emblematical of the deepseated and abiding relations of friendship which happily unite our two countries. As a loyal son of Harvard, I thought that nothing could be more fitting than a permanent memorial here of the principal founder of Harvard University. John Harvard was born in this ancient borough, close by the end of London Bridge, and baptized in this venerable church in 1607, almost three centuries ago. Educated at Emmanuel College in Cambridge, where he spent eight years, during at least four of which Milton was at Christ's, he and Milton received substantially the same nurture and discipline, and must often have been thrown together. At any rate, he imbibed something of the same spirit as Milton, for his contemporaries speak of him as a scholar and pious in his life. Seeking larger freedom of thought than could be found in the London of that

day, he made his way to Massachusetts, and there, within two years of his arrival, he died, prematurely, as it then seemed, but in the fulness and perfection of time, as is now manifest; for, finding the infant colony struggling without means to establish a college in the wilderness, in the first decade of its settlement, he bequeathed to its foundation his library and half of his considerable fortune, and, what was better still, his name, which has now become so illustrious. The colonial record is quaint and touching: — "After God had carried us safe to New England and we had builded our homes, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civic government, one of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to our churches when our present ministers shall lie in the dust. And as we were thinking and consulting how to effect this great work, it pleased God to stir up the heart of one Mr. Harvard (a godly gentleman and lover of learning then living among us) to give the one-half of his estate (it being in all about £1,700) towards the erecting of a college, and all his library. After him another gave £300, others after them cast in more, and the public hand of the State added the rest. The college was by public consent appointed to be at Cambridge, a place very pleasant and accommodate, and is called according to the name of its first founder, Harvard College." It assumed in its arms, as

you will see in the window, a double motto — *veritas,* truth, a word broad enough to embrace all knowledge, human and divine; and, what meant the same thing, *Christo et Ecclesiae,* to Christ and his Church, that the supply of godly ministers might never fail.

And now, after the lapse of three centuries, the little college in the pathless wilderness has become a great and splendid University, strong in prestige and renown, rich in endowments, and richer still in the pious loyalty of its sons, who supply all its wants upon demand with liberal hand. It is not unworthy to be compared with Oxford and Cambridge, those ancient nurseries of learning from which it drew its first life. And the name of John Harvard shares the fame which mankind accords to the founders of States. From the beginning until now it has occupied the foremost place in America as a radiating source of light and reading. In all the great movements of progress by which the United States have advanced from that little handful of storm-swept immigrants on the Atlantic coast to the Imperial Republic of to-day, Harvard University and its sons have had their full share; and without disparagement to her younger sisters, who are many and great, it may truly be said that, as she was first in time, she has always been first in position and influence; and especially in the matter of education, which is and always has been the chief industry of America, she has always led and still leads the way. So considerable have been the contribu-

tions of her sons to the public and social and intellectual life of the nation that, if all other books and papers were destroyed, its history could be fairly reproduced from the Harvard University Catalogue, and from what is known of the lives of the *alumni* there registered. And if you ask if she is still true to her ancient watchwords *veritas* and *Christo et Ecclesiae,* I can answer that, in our own time, in a single quarter of a century, she has sent forth Phillips Brooks to be a pillar of Christ and the Church, and Theodore Roosevelt to be a champion of the truth, and thousands more who in humble spheres follow in their footsteps and share their faith and their hope.

Thus the name of John Harvard, unknown and of little account when he left England, has been a benediction to the new world, and his timely and generous act has borne fruit a millionfold. Coming back to the very beginning of things, we are here to-day to lay a wreath upon his shrine. I hope that this memorial, which the Dean and Chapter have kindly consented to accept from my hands, will long remain for Americans to come and see the very spot where one of their proudest institutions had its origin, and to remind all Englishmen who visit it how inseparable we are in history and destiny. I hope, also, that it may tend to keep alive the kindred spirit between the Universities of the two countries; for Harvard is just as surely the offspring of Cambridge and Oxford, and the own daughter of Emmanuel, as old England is the mother of New England. In the

earlier period of the colony we had one hundred teachers from Oxford and Cambridge, and of these seventy were from Cambridge, and of these again twenty were from Emmanuel. So long as ideas rule the world let all the Universities of both countries stand together for truth, and with one voice let them say to the youth of both lands, "Take fast hold of instruction. Let her not go, for she is thy life." I am under deep obligations to the Dean and Chapter for consenting to receive and cherish this gift, and to Mr. LaFarge, the distinguished artist, for the noble manner in which he has designed and executed it.

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